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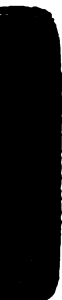
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Proceedings of the Classical Association

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FOURTH GENERAL MEETING, MANCHESTER, 1906

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11TH

AT 8.15 p.m. the members of the Association were received by the VICE-CHANCELLOR of the Victoria University of Manchester in the Whitworth Hall. In the Museum were exhibited neolithic implements, early gems, and other objects, collected by George Finlay in Greece; and bones of animals from the early strata of Hissarlik and from the Dictæan Cave in Crete, classified by Professor W. BOYD DAWKINS. In the Christie Library were shown manuscripts, fragments of papyrus, rare books, and the addresses presented to Owens College at its Jubilee in 1902. Vocal and instrumental music was performed by Miss Fillunger, Mr. Egon Petri, and Mr. Arthur Catterall.

At 10 p.m., in the Natural History Lecture-room, Professor W. RHYS ROBERTS gave a lecture on "Youth and Age in Homer," of which the following is a brief summary:—

So comprehensive and popular a subject as "Youth and Age in Homer" had been chosen at the suggestion of the organiser of the evening meeting. The aim would simply be to recall to mind (with a few interspersed remarks on Homer as an artist and a lover of mankind) a few of the many vivid and various pictures of young and old which were to be found up and down the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In the course of this review it was pointed out that some of the most striking references to child-life occurred in the similes, and so might perhaps be thought to come, in a special measure, straight from the heart of

the poet. Odysseus's appeal to Nausicaa was read, and the chief occupations of youths and maidens were mentioned. Antilochus, Elpenor, and Telemachus were taken as types of Homeric youth, and Odysseus as a type of middle age, the precise meaning of the word ἀμυρέων being considered in this connexion. Various references to the youth of Odysseus and to his predicted old age and death were passed in review ; and Eurycleia and Nestor were chosen as types of old age. The characteristics of youth and age had been analysed in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and in Bacon's *Essays* ; a young student might find it a congenial task to illustrate these from the Homeric poems, and therewith the difference between the analyst and the artist. A catalogue of qualities did not make a living picture. Homer found comfort as well as sorrow in the thought that old age and death come to all. The view that youth and age are as natural as springtime and autumn might be considered specially Homeric, in that Homer is the first poet known to have expressed it. But, though natural, old age has to be combated, and here Nestor provides an inspiring example. Nestor exclaims continually, with all the keen Greek appreciation of the advantages of youth, for the loss of which no respect paid to age could possibly atone, "Oh, would that I were young again!" But of the same Nestor we were told that he "gave not way to sore old age." Such an attitude towards the devastating inroads of old age was not only Homeric, but heroic.

A vote of thanks to the lecturer was carried with applause.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12TH

At 10.45 a.m., in the Manchester Museum, Professor BOYD DAWKINS exhibited the Finlay Collection of ancient Greek stone implements and articles, intaglios, etc. ; also the remains found by Mr. Hogarth in the Dictæan Cave, and the human skulls obtained by Mr. Hogarth from a burial-chamber at Zakro. The large number of stone axes in the first prove that the ancient inhabitants of Greece, like the rest of Europe,

passed through the neolithic stage of culture. The Dictæan specimens consisted mainly of the remains of the ox, deer, hog, and wild goat offered in sacrifice to Zeus, while one frontlet of the small Cretan variety of *Bos longifrons*, the primitive domestic ox throughout Europe, was a *bucranium* carefully fashioned so as to be hung up in the shrine. The human skulls present traces of the result of long ages of culture and refinement—the thin walls, the long-drawn-out parietal sutures, the large cerebral development, the delicate features, and the small teeth liable to decay. They all belong to the oval type of cranium known in France, Spain, and Britain as the “Iberic,” and termed by Sergi in the Mediterranean region the “Mediterranean.” They all bear the impress of the high and long-continued Minoan civilisation of the Bronze Age, from which both the Greeks and the Etruscans derived their arts.

A vote of thanks to Professor Boyd Dawkins was proposed by Professor W. RIDGEWAY, seconded by Professor E. V. ARNOLD, and carried with applause.

At 11.15, in the Geology Lecture-room of the University, Professor J. P. POSTGATE delivered a short address upon “Horace as a Rustic.” His subject had been suggested to him by the criticism that had been passed upon a sentence in the introduction to his *Selections from Tibullus* by a German reviewer. He had noted there (p. xxvii) that “Virgil alone, of all the contemporaries of Tibullus, had the same love of the country, the same reverence for the ancient religion.” On this the reviewer had commented that the omission of Horace from among the Augustan poets whom the country had inspired was “incomprehensible.” The lecturer proceeded to examine the character of the references to the country in Horace, the number of which he did not dispute, and to show that they betrayed no deep interest in the country, nor could they be said to be inspired by it. The country was lauded by Horace, first, as a source of wealth; secondly, as a health-giving resort; thirdly, as the pleasantest of places for

convivial indulgence. Lastly, it furnished an admirable background to the poet who desired a proper *mise en scène*. In all this there was no proof of inspiration. When a writer was inspired by a subject, his sympathies were quickened and his observation sharpened. But Horace's references (e.g. his use of the epithet *rusticus*) showed that he had no sympathy with the countryman, and his allusions to things rustic, as compared with things urban, were cold and negligent. Horace was, in fact, like Propertius, by nature and by breeding a townsman; and as his finest odes, those at the beginning of the third book, show, his real interest was in Rome, its history and its destiny.

A vote of thanks to the lecturer was moved by the Rev. Dr. A. C. HEADLAM, seconded by the Right Reverend the Bishop of SALFORD, and carried with applause.

At noon a visit was paid to the Chetham Hospital and Library. The Officers and Councillors of the Association were entertained at lunch in the Town Hall by the Lord Mayor (Councillor J. H. THEWLIS). At 2.15 p.m. many members visited the remains of the Roman fort in Deansgate, under the guidance of Mr. CHARLES ROEDER, author of *Roman Manchester*.

At 2.45 p.m. the Rylands Library was opened to the Association, and the treasures of the Althorp Collection, especially its early printed editions of the classics, were shown by the Librarian and the Sub-librarian, Messrs. H. Guppy and G. Vine, who had prepared for the occasion a history of the library and a catalogue of its chief classical books in a volume of which a copy was presented to each visitor.¹ Tea was provided by the kindness of Mrs. JOHN RYLANDS, the Founder and President of the Library.

¹ *The John Rylands Library, Manchester: a brief historical description of the Library and its contents, with a catalogue of the selection of early printed Greek and Latin classics exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the Classical Association in October, MCMVI.* Sherratt & Hughes, Manchester and London, MCMVI.

At 4.30 p.m. a Congregation of the University, to which the members of the Association were invited, was held in the Whitworth Hall.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR (Mr. A. Hopkinson, LL.D., K.C.).—On behalf of the University I desire to offer our most hearty welcome to the members of the Classical Association who are visiting us this afternoon. We have thought it a right and fitting thing to do to recognise the visit of the Association by conferring the degree of Doctor of Letters on some of the distinguished representatives of that Association who are present with us. I will now call on Professor Strachan to make the presentation for the first degree.

The Right Hon. Sir RICHARD HENN COLLINS, Master of the Rolls, was presented by Professor J. STRACHAN, who said that in adding this name to its roll of honorary graduates the University paid a tribute not only to the eminent jurist, but also to the warm friend of classical studies. Sir Richard Henn Collins had had a distinguished career as a classical scholar, followed by brilliant success in the law; and although his life-work had lain elsewhere, he still retained a deep interest in his earlier pursuits, as his presence on that occasion showed. He was our first authority on commercial law, and it was particularly fitting that the University of a great commercial city should recognise his services by an honorary degree.

Mr. S. H. BUTCHER, M.P., was presented by Professor R. S. CONWAY, who referred to him as the Bayard of modern scholarship, an honoured teacher in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Harvard, the author (with Mr. Lang) of a translation of the *Odyssey* which had become itself a classic, and of other works of keen critical faculty and rich sympathy. As Chairman of the Council, by his enthusiasm and wisdom he had guided the Classical Association safely through its first years, and as Member of Parliament for Cambridge University he had now carried into political life the same luminous genius which

had made him the most eloquent and inspiring teacher of Greek in this generation.

Professor J. P. POSTGATE was presented by the same as the foremost representative of Cambridge Latin scholarship, who had nobly exemplified the great Cambridge ideal of devoted and accurate study of the ancient texts. His "doctrine of the enclitic" *-rum* was the joy of a thousand class-rooms; he had rescued from oblivion more than one of the Augustan circle; and he had illustrated some of the most human of the Latin poets with deep knowledge, keen wit, and rare literary taste. He was especially welcome as the founder of the strong and flourishing Classical Association, and as the editor for many years of *The Classical Review*, which he had raised to a high level among the learned journals of mankind.

Professor W. RIDGEWAY was presented by the same as the most brilliantly original of all workers in the field of classical antiquity; as the founder of the Cambridge school of anthropology, the discoverer of the origin of coinage, the excavator of the vanished Pelasgians, and the biographer of the thoroughbred horse. In Dublin, in Cork, and in Cambridge he had brought to thorny questions of research and of academic organisation a resolute and penetrating intellect and a royal warmth of heart. To the stimulus of his teaching and counsel a host of scholars in diverse fields were deeply indebted; for whatever he had touched he had inspired with his own enthusiasm for truth.

After the degrees had been conferred, the Vice-Chancellor called on the Lord Mayor of Manchester (Councillor J. H. THEWLIS).

THE LORD MAYOR.—There are many pleasant duties that fall to the lot of the Lord Mayor, but amongst them I can scarcely conceive of one greater than that which I have the privilege to discharge to-day. During this week we have already welcomed a learned society, no less than the Incorporated Law Association; and now, ere the week is

closed, it falls to my lot to give a welcome on behalf of the city to the Classical Association, who have done Manchester the honour of meeting under our sunny skies. I am glad indeed to welcome this Association in Manchester, and for this reason, that we are willing and ready to show an appreciation of learning of every kind, both ancient and modern; of the older, as well as the younger, forms of culture. I rejoice that your learned society has chosen to have its meeting this year in Manchester. It is perfectly well known to all of us that there are differences of opinion in regard to some, but only some, of the objects of your Association. As far as I am concerned, although I am not intending even for a moment to discuss any of the various problems that gather round this subject, I would just give you, in the words of another, one view of classical literature. You may not agree with it, but whether you agree with it or not you will recognise in it a great principle. When I have read the words I will give you the author. "A classic is a book which maintains itself by virtue of that coalescence of matter and style, that innate and requisite sympathy between the thought that gives life and the form that consents to every mood of grace and dignity, and which is something neither ancient nor modern, always new and incapable of growing old." I commend to you these sentiments of Mr. Russell Lowell, and in doing so I have only one word more to offer, and that is the great pleasure it is to me to-day, as representing our great city, to offer, not only on behalf of the citizens but also of the Corporation, a hearty welcome to the Classical Association, and particularly to include in that welcome the mention of the honoured names of the Master of the Rolls and Mr. Justice Kennedy.

The Rev. Canon E. L. Hicks.—As the unworthy President of the Manchester Branch of the Classical Association I am desired to express on behalf of that branch the very great pleasure we have in welcoming so many distinguished members of the Association from all parts of the kingdom to meet us in our city to-day. They have chosen unfortunate

weather (even Manchester is not always quite like this). Although we do confess to being a city of din and of smoke, we claim to be a great centre of population and an important focus of industry. The Classical Association has already learned that Manchester is also deeply concerned with the things of the mind. We meet here in one of the great rising Universities of England, of which we have representatives on this platform, and of which the younger branches are already finding an eloquent voice. Therefore, in the name of the friends of classical learning in this city, we give the warmest possible welcome to our visitors from north, south, east, and west, and hope they will carry away very pleasant memories of their visit among us.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR.—There is a pleasant duty which I must perform before calling upon Sir Richard Henn Collins to take the Chair, and that is to express on behalf of some of us who have been longest associated with him what pleasure it is to see him here to-day. We who have worked with him as counsel, or before him since his elevation to the Bench, know how much the English law owes to him, how he has adorned both the Bar and the Bench. As having been one of the leaders of the Northern Circuit, we claim with pride that he has a special connexion with this district. It is a district which is sometimes thought to be wholly occupied with material pursuits which can be made immediately profitable, and I feel I should be false to my position unless I said two or three sentences with regard to the question of classical studies and learning. It has been suggested from time to time in many quarters that the new Universities which are growing up throughout the land are aiming at studies which are only pecuniarily remunerative, and have looked with cold eyes on classical study. That this is quite contrary to the fact is proved by the history of this University, and by the scholarly work of such men as my predecessors, Dr. Greenwood and Dr. Ward. They were scholars in the true sense of the word; and if some of us who are now largely responsible for the policy of the

University can have no claim to such distinction, at all events we can, as men of affairs and, if I might borrow a common phrase, examples of the man in the street, hold up the banner of literary and classical training as one of the things which it is necessary to keep in the forefront of educational effort, if the rising generation is to be trained rightly at all. We shall not forget, whether in the University or on the platform, to call attention to the importance of maintaining classical training. In our own University the number of classical students is increasing largely, and not only of the students who take classics as part of a general course, but also of those who are devoting themselves to special work. They are threefold more numerous than they were a short time ago, and in the examinations for admission to the University, although we do not insist upon Latin or Greek for all candidates, the number of those who are taking these subjects is increasing. In addition to this, it is important to notice that the local authorities, to whom Parliament has entrusted such large powers with regard to education, are recognising more and more the importance of classical study in connexion with secondary schools. In practical life, too, the careers of many who have achieved distinction as men of affairs or as men of science show the advantages of early classical training. Three things are wanted specially in education which classical training can best give. The first is to get free from the bondage of mere word and phrase. How often in legal, in political, and even in academic discussions mere phrases and words are taken as substitutes for thoughts! Is there anything that, even in the earliest days of school life, forces the mind to search for the real meaning underlying words and phrases so effectively as having to put the shortest and simplest sentences from a modern language into a classical one? You must think of the meaning before you can write a sentence of Latin prose. The second thing in these days of "exuberant verbosity" is the cultivation of a clear and concise style. What is wanted is the cultivation of the chaste, polished and condensed style

which we find in the best classical authors. The third point is to spread the true culture which is wanted in these days of the advance of material prosperity, especially in our great towns. It is not so much the learning which is necessary for producing great scholars that we need, but that kind of culture, that kind of knowledge which can be gained by being in sympathy with other times than our own, with distant ages and distant places. That can come in no way so well as from the study of the history, the thought, and the whole feeling of ancient Greece and Rome. One cannot read the expressions of the great minds of those who lived in Athens and in Rome without feeling that the people who wrote and who read these works were people who thought the same kind of thoughts as we do, and had many of the same problems to meet, though we may acknowledge in them a better artistic sense than ours. We should try all we can to realise the ancient Greek and Roman life at its best. By doing that we shall spread a real culture, the best antidote to the narrowness of outlook, the provinciality, so often associated with vigorous practical life.

I have great pleasure in calling on Sir Richard Henn Collins to deliver his address.

The Congregation was then followed by a meeting of the Classical Association; and, in the absence of the President (Lord CURZON), Sir RICHARD HENN COLLINS, Master of the Rolls (Vice-President), took the Chair.

THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.—I feel that I should not be discharging my proper functions here to-day if I did not take advantage of this occasion for thanking the Lord Mayor for the immense assistance which he individually, and as representing this great city, has given to the Classical Association by his attitude towards it on this occasion, and also for the words of kindly sympathy which he has just uttered. It is not merely a matter of personal civilities here. I have not been long in Manchester at this particular

time, but I have come into close contact with the Lord Mayor while I have been here, and I have seen enough to know that he is perhaps the most popular person in Manchester at this moment; and it is only because he feels himself, I won't say unwilling, but, having regard to the great demands upon his time, incapable, of once more assuming the onerous duties of the chief magistrate of this great city—it is only because of that special reason that he is not about to be its Lord Mayor for another year.

The Classical Association came into existence at a very critical time in the history of classical study. There was a movement in the older Universities to displace classical studies from the position that they had theretofore occupied. I do not say that there was not some foundation for the desire to alter that position; but it was felt by many, and I am glad to think by a continually increasing number, that though the classics ought not to claim, as they did at one time, the exclusive possession of the whole field of education, it was equally true that they could not and ought not to be excluded from that field: and it was in that state of conflicting opinions that the Classical Association came into existence. But it came into existence with no narrow view of antagonism towards other subjects of intellectual effort—nothing like jealousy of other studies actuated it. Its motto from the beginning has been “Defence, not defiance.” It has asserted, and boldly asserted, the right of classical studies to a share in the educational curricula of the youth of the country; but it did not claim, and does not claim, a monopoly. Public opinion has been in a very critical condition as to the place of classical studies. There is now going on, and has been going on for some time, a movement which probably has had no parallel since the first renaissance of learning in Europe. We see to-day what was seen then—a spontaneous desire on the part of large bodies of people to come within the opportunities of culture. Just as in the Middle Ages you find that scholars were willing to submit to great personal difficulties, to self-denial and real

suffering and anxiety, in order to bring themselves within the sphere of the influence of the great teachers of the time, so we have now a revival of the desire for learning for itself, and not merely for its money value. We have witnessed a new and interesting experiment which is now being tried. You have had recognition, indeed, of the fact that there is a demand for University culture, a demand springing from classes which have heretofore been more or less outside the reach of that culture. It has sprung up all over the midland and northern centres of teeming population and industrial activity, and the problem has been, what was to be the curriculum for these new Universities which have been thus called into existence? What did the people want who cried out for their foundation? The question was whether the classics were to have a share in the new scheme of education for this new class; and in that state of things I regard it as an immense factor in the question that the chief magistrate of this, the greatest centre, perhaps, of industrial energy in England, should come forward in his position as the person most typical of this great community, and welcome, not only for himself but for this great city, those who believe in literary culture as a part of any scheme of education. It means that the curriculum of these new Universities is not to be one, as it was at one time thought it should be, exclusively technical, exclusively directed to show people how to turn into money something that they were to acquire at that school. It has conclusively shown that the opinion of this, perhaps the most important centre of the industrial community, is that classical studies should continue to be a part of education. Now, as I have said, I think it is a most interesting experiment, this of teaching technical subjects by University methods. It has been tried, and is still upon its trial, in these northern Universities. In many cases, with all deference do I say it, it does not so much matter what is taught as how it is taught. In my opinion the real essence of University training lies in the methods, the enthusiasm, and the power of sympathy of the person who

instructs, rather than in the nature of the thing taught ; and no matter what the subject may be, if the teacher introduces into it large and intelligent views of the meaning of the thing he is dealing with, he can give instruction to the intellect as well as to the hand and eye, even though the subject be a technical one. From what I have seen of the younger Universities I have felt that they were supplying what was a want in the industrial classes—instruction how to apply their minds, and to work by system, not by rule of thumb. We see that the industrial communities are going to strengthen this education by introducing classical and literary culture as well, and we may rely with certainty and satisfaction on the future of classical education in this country. In my opinion it would be an enormous misfortune if for any reason the cultivation of the classics were allowed to lapse. It would affect the whole of the literary side of culture in this country ; and I look forward to the time when it will not be a question of creating opportunities for the acquisition of such learning, but I believe myself that the people from whom the demand springs for culture will insist on literary culture based on classical training being part of the system where they seek their education. We are seeing on all sides that, even with the limited opportunities which have been heretofore at their disposal, the great labouring class, the class of operatives who furnish the life-blood of this Lancashire community, have been able to assert themselves in the councils of the nation, to send men to Parliament who have been able to hold their own in debate with the best intellects of the country. And are we going to suppose that the class which has won the right to have its representation in the councils of the nation, as it has done, and with whom the future of the country really lies, from whom our statesmen and it may be our governors will hereafter be selected, will acquiesce in an inferior standard of culture, and will not insist on emulating the great men who have left such reputations behind them, and whose methods and utterances bear, so to speak, on their face the stamp

of that classical culture which I am sure the new-comers will insist on acquiring for themselves? I think that the die has been cast for classical study, and that this Association may have some claim to have done something to turn the scale in favour of such studies. In my opinion, the game is won, and the community for whom these Universities were founded will insist on classics forming a part of the general curriculum.

Mr. Justice KENNEDY.—I wish, before saying the few words that I shall have the honour to address to you, to express, not only for the sake of those who are here, but for the sake of the Association which brings us here together, my great regret for the absence of Lord Curzon on this occasion. I express that regret not merely for the reason that Lord Curzon is a statesman who has filled with distinction one of the highest posts in the Empire, nor merely because he has shown himself possessed in an eminent degree of great literary capacity, but because he is, as a man of affairs as distinguished from a member of a learned profession, one whose advocacy of classical studies is above suspicion; whereas I, who have very recently been honoured by the invitation to do my little best to fill the gap which was created by his absence, may, in the popular view, be thought to be prejudiced to some extent in favour of such studies.

The few remarks which time has allowed me to put together and submit to you to-night are remarks which are directed to the value of classical learning and classical education for the training of the lawyer and the legal profession. The title, as appearing in your programme, might lead you to suppose that I intended to take up your time with a discussion on the value of classical training for all the learned professions. I never dreamt of doing so. I do not to-night intend in the slightest degree to trespass beyond the limits of my text, which is, "The Value of Classical Training for the Legal Profession." Now first I want you to look at it in regard to what I may call the direct and immediate advantage of classical

training to the lawyer; and here I am afraid that one must admit—however great one's preference may be from a literary point of view for the Greek language—that Latin has unquestionably the more important claim. I read the other day in the course of a controversy which has appeared in *The Times* with regard to classical education, what seems to me to be eminently true and to the point on this matter. The writer said, "In all that concerns law we are connected in an unbroken and living union with ancient Rome"; and the same thought is put by Sir Henry Maine, who was a great lawyer as well as a great scholar, in a shorter phrase when he wrote, "Legal science is a Roman creation." No doubt if you look at it as we English lawyers ought to look at it, the statement, while true of legal science in one sense, must not be taken in the most literal acceptance of the words. There is a great non-Roman element in the law of this country, but it is still substantially true that the scientific law is a Roman creation. Jurists and practitioners alike are in my judgment poorly equipped for great work if they have not studied and cannot understand in the original the work of the jurists of the later Empire, to whom we owe so many of our legal ideas. Up to a certain point you may learn something from translations, you may acquire some knowledge, and store that knowledge in your memory; you may pass an examination, you may even acquire in a certain degree a mastery of the subject: but unless you can read the Latin of the great Roman jurists you certainly do not know all that you ought to know. The mere acquaintance with facts is not necessarily sufficient to constitute education in any proper sense of the term.

Still sticking to my text, and passing from what are the obvious and immediate advantages to be derived by the student of law from the study of Latin, I submit to your consideration that there is a value in classical education to the lawyer which is even greater than the immediate and practical value of such education, which I have just pointed

out. What I desire to say applies to the study, not of Latin only, but of Greek also. I wish that those (there may be some in this hall) who are inclined to fancy that classical studies are superfluous in legal education would consider with me for a moment what is the essence of the lawyer's business viewed from an intellectual standpoint. He must, in the first place, have learned to grasp clearly, accurately, and completely all the bearings of the case which he is to investigate—complicated or simple as it may be—both in regard to the facts and the law of that case. Secondly, what is not less important, he must have so learned and so studied as to be able lucidly to expound his thoughts, alike to the court and to his clients. He must have learned the art which enables him to convince and to persuade. Now I maintain that, to fill adequately these essential requirements of a lawyer's success, no educational process will generally be so effective as the process of mastering the classical languages as they should be mastered, by which I mean the practice of composition in Greek and Latin as well as of translation from the great classical languages. The lawyer especially needs the development of a capacity for clear and forcible expression of the thinker's thought—the perfection of the art, as the Greek would call it, of rhetoric. In the practice of composition in Greek and Latin the boy is taught to exercise with facility the art of giving apt and accurate expression to his thought, so that he will not be at a loss for expression and ability to convey his meaning with vivid and persuasive power to the mind of his hearer.

I pause for a moment to interpose this. I have no doubt the Master of the Rolls has heard, in the course of a trial, as I have, a witness, wanting neither in honest intentions nor in shrewdness, assert almost piteously to the court by way of excuse for a confused version of the facts as to which he is giving evidence, "Well, my lord, I am no scholar." Now that has struck me more than once as an unconscious testimony to the want of that education which a lawyer especially, if he is to succeed, ought to have, because it is

unquestionably the education which will enable him to do his business, which largely consists in convincing others ; and he cannot hope to be able to convince others unless he has been trained, as I believe that classical study will train him, first to form an accurate comprehension of the facts, and then to give apt expression to the thought. The witness, when he says "I am no scholar," means, "I am unable to find the way to express in a continuous and clear manner the thought which I desire to express." I believe myself the classical training to be excellent in facilitating the acquirement of those accomplishments, or (shall I say it ?) equipments, of a really successful lawyer which I have endeavoured to describe.

There is only one more point I wish to make. Classical education, involving as it does the study of the works of some of the world's greatest masters, in poetry, in history, in philosophy and oratory, gives the lawyer, as, I believe, nothing else can, the breadth of thought and the insight into the workings of complex human nature which will prevent him from dealing narrowly or ignorantly or pedantically with the questions, often grave questions or subtle questions, with which in the course of the exercise of his profession he will be called upon to grapple.

Mr. S. H. BUTCHER then read a letter from the President, Lord CURZON, dated September 16th, expressing regret that he was not able to preside over the meeting. "The audience," Lord Curzon wrote, "will, I am confident, accept the apologies which I now offer through you, and, in the circumstances of the case, will recognise how impossible it would have been for me to discharge the agreeable duty which in happier times I had undertaken. One reflection has occurred to me which it may not be irrelevant to express. When we are in great grief we all of us turn for solace to the literary pastors and masters of our lifetime. Is it not a tribute to the great classical writers of antiquity, that, severed as they are from us by such vast differences of age and circumstance and thought, there are many of

us who yet find in their wise philosophy, and still more in their exquisite pathos, a relief which not even the great writers of our own language and time can as easily or as invariably impart? Is it not a remarkable thing that they should speak to us across the ages in accents so tender and so true? And may not this be counted an additional reason for holding them in unabated reverence?"

Canon Hicks.—I have been called upon quite unexpectedly to move a resolution that is by way of expressing our gratitude to Mr. Justice Kennedy for the very beautiful and interesting address he has given to us about the value of classical education. He has confined himself, with the care and caution which become a lawyer, to that part of education with which he is immediately and properly acquainted, but we could not help perceiving that in speaking about the training for one particular profession, his remarks really applied to all those great professions which look to classical learning as one of their chief sources of mental discipline. We are to-night to resume our study of this great question, and I will therefore confine myself to this very imperfect and very brief expression of our deep thanks to Mr. Justice Kennedy for his presence and for his beautiful address.

The Rev. Dr. J. H. MOULTON.—I greatly appreciate the privilege of being allowed to join my friend Canon Hicks in expressing for the Manchester Branch of the Classical Association our great indebtedness to Mr. Justice Kennedy. There is a personal interest attaching to the duty; for when I scan the Classical Tripos list of 1868, I see with a Kingsman's pride the name of the Senior Classic of the year, the distinguished former Fellow of King's to whom we have listened with so much pleasure this afternoon; while in the fifth place stands the honoured name of A. S. Wilkins, whose work in the department of Greek Testament study I have the great responsibility of carrying on to-day. Perhaps I may be allowed to pursue a step further this reference to 1868, inasmuch as my relationship to the Senior Wrangler

of that year enables me to quote a competent authority in support of Mr. Justice Kennedy's argument, upon which I can myself naturally form no independent opinion. Were Lord Justice Moulton here to-day, I know that he would entirely concur with his two learned brethren in their estimate of the value of classical study in the making of a lawyer. Were this the time, I could have added an emphatic testimony to the value of classics in preparation for another profession, as to which I might speak with more knowledge. The discipline of the humanities—especially when Greek is taken as including the magnificent aftermath of the Hellenistic age—is perhaps the very best possible intellectual training for the work of the Church. In seconding Canon Hicks's motion I have been asked to add another, one of thanks to the Master of the Rolls for his conduct in the Chair; and I submit to the meeting with great pleasure the twofold resolution.

The resolutions were carried with applause, and the meeting was then adjourned.

At 9 p.m., in the History Theatre, a discussion was held on "The Relative Functions of Classical and Modern Language Teaching in Secondary Education." Mr. BUTCHER (Vice-President) took the Chair, and called on the Right Reverend Bishop WELLDON, Dean of Manchester, to open the debate.

THE DEAN OF MANCHESTER.—The object of a speaker in circumstances like mine to-night is, I imagine, to say as many provocative things as he can in the hope of stimulating discussion. There is something of a provocative nature that I meant to say; but my friend Professor Ridgeway told me that if I did say it he would make a violent personal assault upon me. In these circumstances I hope you will let me begin by expressing my profound belief in the unique value of classical studies as educational instruments. The opinion which I have so expressed has not always been held. I

was reading the other day an essay of Hazlitt's entitled "On the Ignorance of the Learned," and I came across these words: "Any one who has passed through the regular gradations of a classical education and has not been made a fool by it may consider himself as having had a very narrow escape." You and I, ladies and gentlemen, have escaped; I do not know that the escape has been particularly narrow. But I think we may congratulate ourselves upon the fact, which is hardly open to dispute, that there has in the last few years been a considerable reaction towards a belief in classical studies. I can remember the time when it was pretty generally imagined that natural science and modern languages together would make an efficient substitute for classics. That view, I think, is less widely held to-day. But I shall venture to submit to you the proposition that the real educational distinction which ought to be borne in mind is not between classical and modern languages; it is between languages and other subjects. Speaking for myself, I believe it is possible to get all, or almost all, the same advantages out of modern as out of classical subjects; but I do not think it is possible to get them in the same degree. Language, I say, is a supreme educational subject; and it is so, if I may put my belief in the fewest possible words, because language is so human. Language is a human product, and it is in its tendency and effect human. I mean that the characteristic of mathematical study is proof, that of scientific study is experiment; proof and experiment alike tend towards certainty, whereas in human affairs it is probability, as Bishop Butler says, which is the rule of life, and the problems which occur in the study of language are, as it seems to me, generically the same as occur in the conduct of life. That is the reason why I look upon language as the supreme educational subject. It is worth while, I think, to observe that when modern languages were first brought into the public schools of England there was no great result expected of them. They were, I believe,

first brought into Rugby School by Dr. Arnold, and I may perhaps be allowed to remark in passing, as a fact of interest to people in Manchester, that Dr. Arnold came very near once holding the office, or the office corresponding with that, which I now hold. It was offered to him, and he refused it on the score of the inadequacy of the income—a fact which may lead the people of Manchester to see the un wisdom of cutting down the income of Deans. Dr. Arnold, who was a strong supporter of classical education, said when he brought modern languages into Rugby: “I assume it certainly as a foundation of my view of the case, that boys at a public school never will learn to speak or pronounce French well under any circumstances. But for most of our boys to read it will be of far more use than to speak it; and if they learn it grammatically as a dead language, I am sure that whenever they have occasion to speak it (as on going abroad, for instance) they will be able to do it very rapidly. I think that, if we can enable the boys to read French with facility and to know the grammar well, we shall do as much as can be done at a public school, and should teach the boys something valuable.” I wish emphatically to endorse Dr. Arnold’s opinion that it is idle to teach French pronunciation in public schools. The very fact that in class boys are listening to each other’s bad pronunciation is a fatal drawback to such teaching. Pronunciation of French must be learned elsewhere; it must be learned in the nursery, or, if not, it must be learned less satisfactorily by boys going to reside in families abroad. Time spent in school in learning the pronunciation of foreign languages is ill-spent and is far more profitably spent elsewhere. When I was head master at Harrow I tried in some small measure to institute a system by which certain families or homes which I knew of on the continent of Europe should be put in some relation to the school, so that I could send boys, particularly those who were preparing for the army, into those families or homes. I am clear that time spent in the school in

learning the pronunciation of a foreign language may be far more profitably spent elsewhere.

Now it is my strong opinion that the educational supremacy of the classics remains unassailed, and that as an instrument of education, and especially of the higher education, the languages and the literatures of Greece and Rome must be as far as possible maintained. I hope I shall not excite the wrath of any opponent if I make, in passing, the remark that for that very reason I have always been averse to putting any artificial difficulty in the way of learning either Greek or Latin; and you must bear with me if I say that any attempt to change the natural pronunciation of the Latin language, the pronunciation which is natural to English boys, must put an artificial difficulty in the way. I very much doubt whether the ears of the modern world are not different from the ears of the ancient world. Greek as we pronounce it—I say nothing about Latin—produces upon the ears, and therefore upon the minds, of persons who speak and hear it now, something far more like the impression produced upon the ears and minds of the students than could be produced if the boys of to-day were taught by ill-informed or half-informed revolutionaries to attempt what might be regarded for the moment as the orthodox ancient pronunciation. I also wish to say that, deeply as I value the classical languages, I think the time which has been wasted in some departments of classical study, and notably in Greek and Latin versification, is simply a scandal. It is very important, in the overloaded condition of the educational curriculum, to lighten the ship by casting over some subject, and I rejoice to think that versification in ancient languages occupies a much less important place than it did when I was a boy; for I have never been able for the life of me to conceive why a boy who is not allowed to write even a verse of poetry in his own language, and if he did write verse would make a fool of himself, should be obliged to spend so many hours of time in composing absolutely worthless verses in a dead language.

I do not think I need appeal to this assembly upon the intrinsic value of the classical languages. For different reasons Greek and Latin are incomparable instruments of culture. There is in ancient literature, too, a freshness which it is impossible to reproduce in later days. Nobody can read Homer without feeling that, if the same thoughts came into a later poet's mind, they would not hold the same character or produce the same effect as they did in Homer's poetry.

The time that I was asked to occupy has expired, but I should like to add that I am of opinion that English is becoming, and is destined to become, the universal language; and the benefit of a universal language is so conspicuous that I am doubtful whether a teacher does not commit something like an offence against human society if he insists upon English boys and girls speaking any other than their own language. French and German never can become universal languages. At the same time, the best education can only be given by means of the classical languages. I would urge, therefore, upon the Association that we should use our utmost endeavours in our various spheres in life to maintain the supremacy of the classical languages and of classical literature.

Mr. J. L. PATON.—If I were to take the Dean of Manchester as seriously as he has obviously been taken by Professor Ridgeway, we should have to view with some apprehension the accession of Bishop Welldon to the Board of my Governing Body. To the sacrifice of Greek and Latin verse I should not demur—that sacrifice has already been made; but the other sacrifice, the sacrifice of the attempt to pronounce German and French, is a sacrifice that I am not prepared to make; and, as to the pronunciation of Latin, it has taken us about three years to get the true pronunciation established in the school, and if all this has to be undone it is a case of the head master dying in the last ditch. After all, when we are teaching a language we have to teach some kind of pronunciation, even if it

is a bad pronunciation; and if we have to teach some pronunciation I do not see why we should not teach the right one to begin with and stick to it. But my object this evening is to show how the newer methods in learning languages have reacted on the teaching of Latin and Greek, more particularly Latin; for all the different subjects of school work are so intimately bound up in one organic whole that you cannot quicken and energise one part of your school instruction without quickening the whole. There is no doubt about it that our modern language colleagues have succeeded in energising the modern language instruction of our schools in a way, I think, that Dr. Arnold never conceived possible. We owe to the new modern language method certain definite improvements in classical teaching—improvements which in this country are only incipient, but in Germany, particularly Frankfurt, have been carried out to the highest point of perfection. We owe to this new method the great part which oral work is beginning to play in the teaching of Latin and Greek—more particularly in the teaching of Latin. Modern language teachers always make their boys speak the language; they always make them speak in sentences: and we Latin teachers and Greek teachers are beginning to learn from them. I do not think we have learned half as much as we might. I do not see why we should not have the same method of reproduction as they have in their French and German classes, taking each separate sentence and putting questions upon it in such a way that, little by little, the whole of the construing lesson is reproduced orally without reference to the book. A teacher's function should be to do the great bulk of his composition orally by making the boys give back the substance of their classical author in Latin and in Greek. I do myself believe in what the modern language teacher would call the reproduction of the sentences, and it is not at all hard, as experience shows, after you have accustomed boys to give you back the Latin sentences in answer to your questions. It is not a difficult

matter, when you have come to the end of a chapter of Livy, to get a boy to stand up and give you five or six well-formed Latin sentences, perhaps the whole substance of that chapter in his own words. In this way it may be hoped that we may be able to counteract that intellectual deadness which is the natural result of treating Greek and Latin as if they were dead languages, and treating our pupils as though they were deaf and dumb grammar-grinding machines.

MISS S. A. BURSTALL.—I cannot claim to be one of those modern language teachers whom I, like the last speaker, respect and admire, for the example they give us. I should wish, however, to state something of my experience as to girls' education at school. Although, as the Dean has said, English may eventually be the universal language, and although I do not wish unduly to press the claims of the French language, I do claim that there is real value in French linguistic training for girls. They know that it is a living language, and it is very useful to them in many ways. It is not so easy to speak of the German language. In some schools German is taught very little, in some not at all. In a centre like this German would be of much more practical value than in the rural districts of, say, Dorsetshire. I should not, therefore, press the value of German, but no one could ignore it as a necessity for research in any subject; we all know that it is in such work essential. I would rather occupy a few minutes in saying what should be the place and function of Latin, especially in girls' schools. I say Latin, because Greek can only be the joy of the few. Latin gives to girls that linguistic discipline, that intelligent interest, to which the Dean has referred; and it gives them also a valuable key to much in modern literature and history, and throws light on that which would otherwise remain obscure. Latin is popular in girls' education, as can be shown by pointing out that in a University like this Latin is taken as a voluntary subject; it is not compulsory in the matriculation examination, and yet it is

taken by a very large number of girls. Surely there must be some inherent fascination in the study which has caused it to win its way. In the great school over which I have the honour to preside our ablest girls have specialised in classics, and I hope they may long do so. There are many who are obliged to take up other studies for more practical purposes, but there are many girls here in Manchester who are so happily placed that they can take up the study of classics for the love of it, and in our own school there has grown up a real devotion for the tongues of Homer and Virgil.

Professor M. E. SADLER thought that in English higher secondary education for boys there was too much early specialisation in Latin and Greek. In the course of study in the preparatory schools so large a proportion of time was given to Latin and to Greek that the boys were imperfectly taught their mother-tongue and were inadequately grounded in geography and history. The chief cause of this over-specialisation lay in the requirements of the entrance and scholarship examinations at the public schools. Nothing short of a sweeping reform in the scholarship system seemed capable of remedying the grave evil of forcing young boys into an over-specialised course of classical study quite inappropriate to their years and hurtful to their intellectual development. The liberation of the earlier years in a boy's higher secondary education (ten to thirteen) from the undue pressure of premature Latin and Greek would, he thought, in no way injure the true interests of classical studies in England. Those studies were never more living, never more needed than at the present time. But they gained nothing from the maintenance of an artificial monopoly, through the pressure of scholarship and entrance examination, in the years of a boy's life to which such specialisation was especially inappropriate. A boy, he thought, should make a good start in French before he began Latin, while Greek should be postponed till fourteen. This would involve changes in the organisation of the teaching at the public

schools, as well as in the conditions of the scholarship examinations. These changes would probably lessen the amount and area of classical teaching, if all the boys now receiving it were reckoned. But the boys who had a special aptitude for literary studies would, he believed, continue to receive a classical training which would be all the more valuable because based upon a wider foundation of general culture.

Professor W. RIDGEWAY.—The Dean has not given me that piece of provocation to which he alluded. I really have nothing to quarrel about, and everything has been so well said, even if I do not agree with it, that I am not inclined to cavil. I may say that I never heard four better speeches one after the other. As regards the question of the new method of teaching languages in the schools, about which Mr. Paton said a great deal, I should like to know more about this new method. It is all very fine to say that we are going to learn a lot from teaching the classics according to this new method, but it is only to be found in a very few places such as the city of Manchester.

Professor E. V. ARNOLD.—I have very great pleasure in being able to endorse what Mr. Paton in particular has put before us—the immense improvement that has taken place in the teaching of classics in modern schools, improvements that some people scarcely believed to be possible. We owe that improvement very largely to the teachers of modern languages. We have learned a great deal from them.

Professor HERFORD dwelt upon the necessity, in all advanced English study, of a competent prior knowledge both of classics and of French, Italian, and German, and the exacting demands consequently made by such study upon the student. He also joined in repudiating the suggestion of the Dean that the universal use of English was a summation to be desired.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13TH

At 9.30 a.m., in the History Theatre, Professor R. S. CONWAY delivered a lecture, of which the following is the substance, on "An Unnoticed Aspect of Vergil's Personality."

Like other great writers, Vergil has suffered something from his popularity; the fact that he has been read in schools for centuries has made the interpretation of his writings as a whole fairly clear, but has also, perhaps inevitably, tended to throw into the shade not a few finer points of criticism, on which a great deal of the deepest meaning of his poetry must after all depend. That there are plenty of difficult passages every schoolboy, and still more every teacher, knows well; but in all there has grown up what one might call an "authorised version," from which the individual teacher, however many doubts he may feel, hesitates to depart. Most of us, I think, are familiar with the effect which this situation has upon a class of schoolboys, who are exceedingly quick to see whether their teacher really believes what he is putting before them; and a good deal, though not all, of the distaste which schoolboys feel for Vergil—a distaste which must surely be in itself regarded as a disgrace to our profession—is due, I believe, to this acquiescence in formulæ which do not, in reality, represent all that can be known in the light of modern scholarship about the central figure of Roman literature.

It may be, however, that some who are familiar with brilliant commentaries, like that of Mr. Page, will doubt the truth of this contention; and every one will be rightly sceptical of the attempt to discover new meanings in passages which might be thought as plain as they are familiar. Let me remind any such that it is scarcely five years since a new name was added to the list of surviving Latin poets by the convincing demonstration of Professor Skutsch, of Breslau, that the poem called the *Ciris*, by tradition ascribed to Vergil, is the work of Cornelius Gallus. Or take a smaller point. For how many centuries, I wonder, have schoolboys

and others been forced to translate *habent acies* by "lead men into battle," because Professor Slater had not yet proved its meaning in the passage (*Aen.* VII. 695)—

Hi Fescenninas *acies* aequosque Faliscos,
Hi Soractis *habent* arces

to be the same as that of the English word with which it is identical, the Derbyshire "edge"—*i.e.* a ridge ending a high plateau? Or if I may venture to give as an instance a question which, so far as I know, has not yet been asked: Why is it that Vergil opened the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*—that profound Book in which, like Shakespeare in his *Tempest*, he centred his whole history and vision of human life—with stories of primitive Crete (*In foribus letum Androgeo*)? Why, indeed, save that Vergil knew by tradition what we have only been willing to learn from the sharp spades of Dr. Arthur Evans, that Crete was the earliest home of European civilisation?

"Vergil," said Mr. Page, in a brilliant speech, to which we all listened with delight two years ago—"Vergil in his shy way would remind us that he is first of all a poet." It is a few cases of this characteristic shyness, which seem to me to conceal more thought than has been yet understood, which we are now to consider. And I must ask one indulgence at the outset. It is impossible to put into words the suggestions which seem to me to be implicit in these passages without giving them just the dogmatic, prosaic colour which Vergil avoided; but I hope it will be believed that I am conscious of this, and that Mr. Page's dictum is one which I too have taken to heart.

Let us begin with one or two examples of this reticence or gentleness of tone in utterances on grave matters. A typical case is the tribute to the philosophic research of Lucretius in the First Georgic (*Felix qui potuit*, etc.), followed immediately by the resolute declaration of the theoretically inferior but really more delightful calling of the plain lover of the country. Or I might point to the closing scene of the *Aeneid*,

in which the hesitation of Aeneas whether or not to spare the conquered Turnus reflects the poet's own doubt as to the efficacy of force as a remedy. Has it been observed, I wonder, how characteristically Vergil departs from the Homeric formula, which he is adapting, in picturing the spirit of the slain warrior as "groaning over its own fate at leaving manhood and youth behind" (*δν πότμον γοόωσα, λιπούς' ἀδροτήτα καὶ ἡβην*)? In Vergil the groan is there—

Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras

—but the merely selfish side of it, which to Homer was the chief point of the pathos (*δν πότμον*), is in Vergil suppressed, and instead we have as the last significant word of the whole poem the striking *indignata*, not "groaning" merely, but "indignant." Why does Vergil stop to regard this "indignation" of the dying rebel? Surely it is to suggest the other side of every forceful triumph. This will not seem too fanciful, I think, to those who are familiar with the main spirit of the story in the second half of the *Aeneid*, with its recurring contrast between the peaceful, merciful, humane Aeneas and the weak and overbearing personalities, whether of gods or men, who break with tragic violence the course of the hero's duty.

Let us now take a group of passages which have one thing in common—namely, that Vergil seems to halt between two or more opinions. In all of them I cannot help thinking that his real opinion is discernible, notwithstanding the hesitation, and that the real object of the hesitation was to enlist the reader's sympathy on that side better than could be done by any direct or dogmatic assertion. The first of these is in the Fifth Book of the *Aeneid*. When Aeneas is offering sacrifice at the tomb of his father Anchises, he is cheered by a special portent; a snake appears from under the altar, which is also the tomb, and, encircling the altar, devours the offerings upon it, and then retires whence it had come, doing no harm to any one. Now why is this incident brought in? Clearly, says the reader who knows

anything of Greek customs, because the connexion of snakes with tombs was an ancient Greek tradition, continually represented in Greek sculpture; and the emblem is commonly interpreted by modern scholars as at all events connected with some belief in an after-life. We need hardly stop to remember the physical origin of this belief; the dryness of the shelter which the tombs afforded was probably as congenial to a snake at Athens as on the Cotswolds or the Quantocks to-day, to say nothing of the offerings of food. But this is not the point. The point is, what did Aeneas think? Aeneas hesitates (l. 95)—

Incertus, geniumne loci famulumne parentis
Esse putet.

He does not know “whether the snake is the genius of the place”—that is to say, is itself the embodiment of his father’s spirit (this being of course the popular belief)—or whether it is only “some attendant spirit that waits upon his father” in the Under-world. Surely, when the question is once asked, it is quite clear what Vergil meant, and what he did not say. He meant to suggest a less gross and more human interpretation of the snake at the tomb, but he is so tenderly considerate of the ancient superstition that he will not put his criticism of it in any more positive form. This passage in itself is of no great importance; but it is typical of Vergil’s method of suggesting, rather than explicitly teaching, what he wished his readers to believe.

Now take a rather larger class of examples. I do not know whether the conception of fate or providence in Vergil has been recently or ever examined as it appears in two or three crises of the story of the *Aeneid*. There is a remarkable hesitation between two theories of causation. Vergil seems to assign the same event both to what we commonly call a natural human cause and in the same breath to some supernatural decree of the fates or the gods. A very simple case is in the climax of the Eleventh Book.

Turnus has laid an ambush for Aeneas, which would have been fatal ; but Aeneas is saved from destruction by a sudden change of mind in Turnus, due to, or at all events occasioned by, the bad news of the death of his ally Camilla. "Turnus," we read (XI. 901), "distracted by the tidings—and such was the will of Jove—broke up the ambush he had laid."

Ille furens—et sæua Iouis sic numina poscunt—
Deserit obsessos colles.

The conjunction here is noteworthy. In any less subtle writer we should have expected "for," not "and." Vergil prefers to leave the natural, psychological cause side by side with the divine one, so as to refrain from representing the human cause as a merely mechanical consequence.

Exactly the same parallelism appears at the crisis in the Second Book, when Laocoon's spear has struck the wooden horse and caused a clashing of the armour of the warriors inside, a clashing loud enough to be called a "groan" (*Insonuere casae gemitumque dedere cauernae*). One can almost hear it now ; why did not the Trojans hear it? "Because," says Vergil, "the fates of heaven and their own minds were both perverse" (*si fata deum, si mens non laeua fuisset*—II. 54). Why does he not stop at *fata*? Surely because he wishes to suggest that the cause of the fall of Troy was the Trojans' own cowardice,¹ which lead them first to leave Laocoon to perish unaided, and then to see in his death the sign, not of their own wrong-doing, but of his. So it came about that they opened their gates to the destruction from which their nobler fellow-citizen would have saved them, if they had saved him. This aspect of the famous story will no doubt seem strange at first, but I think that any one who will read Vergil's account, keeping in his mind the possibility of such a rational, critical attitude on the part of the poet towards the old tradition, will be gradually convinced that the possibility is really a fact. And yet Vergil has contented

¹ The panic of the crowd at the appearance of the serpent is vividly described (*ib.* II. 200, 212, 228, 244)

himself with so gentle a suggestion of this feeling that it is quite possible for us to read the narrative without being conscious of anything more than the dramatic sympathy with which Vergil presents the tragedy. The same is true in two other passages: the alighting of the doves on the golden bough (VI. 190 and 198) is ascribed first to chance and then to the intervention of Venus; and the happy thought of Aeneas to attack the city of the Latins is ascribed first to Venus, and secondly to the sudden sight of the town lying stretched in the sunshine before him (XII. 554 and 560).¹ I believe that in all these cases Vergil's ambiguity is deliberate. If I were to put into words a question which he is willing that his readers should ask, I think it would be this: Are the two alternatives really as distinct as you suppose? Is the notion of human or natural causation really inconsistent with the intervening, co-working influence of the Power behind the veil?

The next example is one of larger scope, and is suggested by a saying ascribed to Macaulay. After reading the Fourth Book of the *Aeneid*, he exclaimed to a friend, "Can you stand this? Is not Aeneas a poltroon?" One may search in vain for any justification of this epithet through all the speeches of Aeneas in that Book and all his action after he receives the command to go. Every word and movement is full of sorrow for himself, of pity and consideration for Dido, limited only by obedience to his divine commission. What is it, then, that produced the feeling to which Macaulay has given such blunt and inaccurate expression? Clearly, the whole situation; the demands made by an imperial duty not merely for the sacrifice of personal happiness, but for the wreck of a great woman's life. Macaulay was assuredly not alone in being moved by indignant pity; he is, perhaps,

¹ I am reminded by my colleague, Mr. Gilbert Norwood, of an even more explicit example in the famous question of Nisus (IX. 184):—

Dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?

alone in regarding as a reproach to a great artist the very first feeling which that artist's work awakens. Is it wise to assume that the artist's own intention had no share in the result? Let Dido's appeal to Aeneas, or even its last four lines, teach us more truly what Vergil felt:—

Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
 Ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi paruolus aula
 Luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
 Non equidem omnino capta ac deserta uiderer.

Ah, but if first, ere thou had'st fled, one ray
 Of gentler hope had dawned, if in this court
 A baby child of ours had danced and smiled,
 Smiling his far-off father back again,
 Ah then, methinks, I were not, as I am,
 Utterly, utterly betrayed, undone.

Was this, I wonder, one of the passages in Lord Curzon's mind when he wrote the beautiful and touching letter read yesterday? It may at least be said that no one knows the meaning of these lines till he has passed through some one of the darker shadows of human existence. And shall we believe that the poet who conceived this appeal had nothing but the conventional approval for the conventional view of such a drama? Rather we must hear in the slow, mournful syllables of the tragic half-line which is Aeneas's last word—

Italiam non sponte sequor

—an echo of the sorrow of men like Agrippa, condemned by imperial policy to destroy their dearest ties. The truth, whose weight Macaulay felt but could not understand, is this: that Vergil's whole story of Dido is a poetic but profound protest against the ancient, and not merely ancient, conception of such tragedies as a normal part of life.

The last point which time allows us to consider is one in which Vergil's feeling has exercised quite an enormous influence on human thought; but through the delicate, evasive colour of his teaching it has never been realised that the influence was Vergil's at all. It is one of the most

important—perhaps the most important—of all Vergil's contributions to the ethics of Christendom. And yet the passage to which I must especially refer is the one in all his writings which is read with most surprise, not to say amazement, by modern students. Put in the form of a question, what I wish to consider is this: What did Vergil mean by deifying Augustus?

To begin with, Vergil was not alone in doing so; but let us compare his manner of doing it with that of other poets under the Empire. We need not stop to quote the abominable use to which the fashion was applied by such a court-parasite as Martial—*non rationam di lor*. But when we find Propertius using the word *deus* as a synonym for Augustus (*lacrimas uidimus ire deo*), we feel at once that there is no parallel to this in Vergil, even in his earliest Eclogue. Even in Horace, whose picture of Augustus drinking nectar at the celestial table is at least not lacking in dignity, we still hear a strain different from Vergil's. The first appearance¹ of Octavian as divine in Vergil is when he has given peace in place of ruin to the Mantuan farmer (*deus nobis haec otia fecit*). At the end of the First Georgic² the courts of heaven are said to envy earth her possession of such a hero—but why? Because he is to save Rome and the world from utter overthrow (*euerso saeclo*)—as of course he did. And so through all the *Aeneid*, wherever Augustus is made divine, it is because he is saving mankind from the horrors of the anarchic century that was ended by the battle of Actium. The two ideas are inseparably linked; whenever Augustus puts on the robes of a god, it is to do hard work for men.

Yet there is one well-known passage that seems an exception to this rule, a passage in which the deification takes a poetic form repellent to the modern reader. In the exordium of the *Georgics*³ Augustus is invited not merely to become a god, but to choose for himself some particular type of deity—a ludicrous combination, according to our

¹ Ecl. i. 6.² I. 500-3.³ I. 24-42.

modern commentators, of polytheism, anthropomorphism, and the grossest court flattery. As usual, those who condemn most loudly have understood least; some of them, who have been especially merry over Vergil's astronomy, might at least have waited to read the ancient commentaries, in which they would have found enlightenment. What is Vergil's question? He asks, apparently, over which realm of nature Caesar is to reign, the earth (which includes both land and men), the ocean, the stars, or, finally, the world of the dead. The last suggestion the poet seems to withdraw as soon as it is made, and yet to withdraw with reluctance, in one of the most complex sentences that ever baffled a schoolboy, and his teachers (ll. 36-42):—

Quidquid eris,—nam te nec sperant Tartara regem
nec tibi regnandi ueniat tam dira cupido,
quamuis Elysios miretur Graecia campos
nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem—
da facilem cursum atque audacibus adnue coeptis
ignarosque uiae mecum miseratus agrestis
ingredere et uotis iam nunc adsuesce uocari.

What does this mean? Can we not all remember the perplexity with which we first gazed upon this parenthesis within a parenthesis? For what conceivable reason does Vergil dwell on the attractions of an alternative which he has admitted to be inappropriate, and which to us seems merely absurd? And what have Greece and Proserpine to do with a Roman emperor?

The key to all this lies, I believe, in the concluding lines. Augustus is to decide upon the sphere first proposed to him; he is to be a god of earth—to what end? To help Vergil in his great task of reviving country life in Italy; in other words, the influence and encouragement on which the poet relies are to be devoted to a poem on agriculture. The hesitation that Vergil felt is as to the subject of the poem for which he is to seek the Emperor's approval. Shall he write of agriculture, like Varro? Of the growth of civilisation, like Lucretius? Of geography and

ocean exploration, like Strabo? Of astronomy, like Aratus, Manilius, Hyginus? Or of the mysteries of creation and the after-life, as he had done already in the *Song of Silenus*, as he was now doing in a part of the Fourth Georgic, as Dido's poet does at Carthage, as Vergil dreamed already of doing, as the crown of his life's work, in some majestic vision like the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*, in which all the lore of Greek philosophy and all the wealth of Greek fancy were to be blended with the deep patriotism and the deeper humanity of the greatest poet of Italy?

This interpretation of the close of the passage seems to me hardly to admit of doubt, and it carries the rest. This passage, therefore, is not an exception, but an example of the principle for which I am pleading. The deification of Augustus is not a degradation of humanity; it is an exaltation of the conception of what a god ought to be.

"Poor pagan Vergil," sigh our Christian commentators; "he could not help yielding to the superstition of his day." Have those who thus teach considered sufficiently the meaning of the word *deus*? Have they asked, what were the personalities among whom it enrolled Augustus? Between the Latin *deus* and the English *God* stretches a gulf of nineteen centuries of Christian teaching. Auguste Comte himself could find no better weapon to wield against all that he counted superstition than the worship of great men who had served mankind. So far from having done any disservice to humanity by deifying Augustus in the definite sense of a supreme human benefactor, Vergil's implicit picture of what a god ought to be was one of the greatest steps by which mankind was lifted towards that divine ideal of manhood which began to be unfolded only nineteen years after Vergil's heart had ceased to beat.

A vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed in a short speech by Professor J. W. MACKAIL and carried with applause.

At 10.15 a.m. the Association met in the Reading Room of the University. About one hundred and twenty members were present. On the motion of the Rev. Dr. A. C. HEADLAM, Mr. S. H. BUTCHER (Vice-President) took the Chair.

On the motion of Mr. E. HARRISON (Honorary Secretary) the minutes of the last meeting, which had already been printed in the last volume of *Proceedings*, were taken as read and confirmed.

Professor E. A. SONNENSCHN (Honorary Secretary) moved the adoption of the report of the Council for 1906, which he read, adding that a financial statement, or balance-sheet, would be circulated early next year :—

“In presenting its report to the General Meeting in Manchester, the Council desires to express its satisfaction with the progress of the Association’s work and the increase in the number of members. At the end of 1905 the membership of the society stood at 1,050; it now stands at about 1,140, and new names are constantly coming in.

“The Council records with deep regret that the Right Hon. Lord Curzon of Kedleston is unable, owing to his recent bereavement, to undertake the duties of President at the Manchester meeting, and expresses its gratitude to the Right Hon. the Master of the Rolls and the Hon. Mr. Justice Kennedy for consenting at short notice to take part in the meeting.

“Local Correspondents have been appointed for Aberystwyth (Professor J. W. Marshall), Bangor (Professor T. Hudson Williams), Belfast (Professor S. Dill), Brighton (Mr. A. H. Belcher), Burma (Mr. F. R. Lee), Leeds (Professor W. Rhys Robert).

“The Council has observed with special pleasure the activity with which the work of the Association is being prosecuted by the Manchester Local Branch. The more recently established Birmingham Local Branch is also making preparations for its first session of active work.

“A Committee of the Council (Messrs. Cookson, Harrison,

and Postgate) has been appointed to bring the Association under the notice of honours students of classics who are about to leave the Universities.

“The Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools, in co-operation with the Modern Language Association, has invited the Classical Association to a joint conference, and the Council has appointed the following members of the Curricula Committee to represent the Classical Association,—Mr. Cookson, Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Pantin, Dr. Rouse, Professor Sonnenschein, and Mrs. Verrall.

“An invitation having been also received from the Modern Language Association to consider questions of interest to both Associations, the Council has appointed as its representatives Mr. Mansfield, Dr. Rouse, and Professor Sonnenschein.

“The memorial to the Secretary of State for War has been presented in accordance with the resolution of the General Meeting on January 5th, 1906, but so far no answer has been received.

“In pursuance of the resolution passed at the last General Meeting, ‘That in the lower and middle form of boys’ public schools Greek should be taught only with a view to the intelligent reading of Greek authors,’ the Council recommends that a memorial be addressed by the Association to head masters of schools inviting their co-operation in the proposed reform.

“In pursuance of the resolution passed at the same General Meeting, ‘That the Association petition the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to take into consideration the abolition of the separate Greek grammar paper at Responsions and the Previous Examination respectively, and the substitution for it of an easy paper in unprepared translation,’ the Council reports that such petitions have been addressed to the Hebdomadal Council of the University of Oxford and to the Council of the University of Cambridge, and that it has reason to hope that the Universities are taking the petitions into favourable consideration.

"The report of the Finance Committee for the year 1906 (still running) will be presented at the next annual meeting. Meanwhile, it will be satisfactory to members to know that the Association has a balance at the banker's. At the same time an increased membership is desirable if the Association is to extend its usefulness.

"The Council presents herewith the report of the Pronunciation Committee appointed on March 18th, 1905, in accordance with the resolution of the General Meeting held in London on January 7th, 1905, 'That the Council be requested to nominate a representative Committee to consider and report on the best method of introducing a uniform pronunciation of Latin into the Universities and Schools of the country, and that it be an instruction to this Committee to confer with the Committee to be appointed for a similar purpose by the Classical Association of Scotland. That the same Committee be empowered, if they deem it advisable, to consider what changes in the present pronunciation of Greek should be recommended for general adoption.'"

The report was adopted unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester to propose a name for the office of President for 1907.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR.—I could wish that this resolution had been put into the hands of one of those gentlemen who take a more active part in the Association than I can ever have time for; but I am quite sure of this, that I can speak with the utmost heartiness, as it is proposed that Mr. Butcher be elected as President. I know no words of mine are necessary, and I know that whatever I say will be short of what you wish me to say on the subject. I think we may be certain that in our President, in the gentleman whose name I have proposed, we shall have one, I will not say who will have *tact* in conducting the business of the Association—I never like to use that word, because it suggests management—but we shall certainly have one

who has the power of putting a thing definitely before him, and knowing exactly what he would like, and at the same time having the fullest sympathy for and appreciation of the views of others. It is a fortunate circumstance that we should have in our President the representative in Parliament of one of our older Universities. I am quite sure that this resolution will be unanimous, and have your most hearty support. Before I sit down I would just express, on behalf of those who are interested in education in Manchester, how much we appreciate the visit of the Classical Association to our city. It has, I am certain, done very great good to the cause of education, and it has taken a part in promoting education on the right lines. We in Lancashire most heartily thank the Classical Association for its visit, and I should like to say that I believe it has done exceptional good to the cause we have so much at heart.

I beg to move that Mr. S. H. Butcher, Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge, be elected President for next year.

Professor W. RIDGEWAY.—I beg to second the proposal that has been made by the Vice-Chancellor. It needs no words of mine to express the real value of having such a man as Professor Butcher as head of the Classical Association for the coming year. In this country we very often have a figure-head who is only a figure-head—that is, fine to look at, but nothing much besides. In this case we are going to have a figure-head in the proper sense of the word. We shall have a man distinguished in his whole career by his breadth of view and his loftiness of tone. His position in the House of Commons will be of great value to the Association and to the general promotion of education in this country. You have a man of distinguished position, and a man who is at the same time a great scholar and a great enthusiast, not only for classical studies, but for all that is best in literature. With a man like that at the head of the Association, we may be confident of its future success; and it is only just now that people are

beginning to wake up to the fact that this Association is putting the classics in their proper place in the view of the educated people of this country.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. BUTCHER.—I can only express to you in the fewest words my gratitude to you for the generous speeches you have just heard, and for the great honour you have done me in making me your President for the coming year. I have some doubt whether this Association, still young, should not have found a more ornamental figure-head, somebody better known throughout the country and in public life; all I can promise you is that I will try to do my part as a sort of Labour Member in the kingdom of classics.

Professor J. W. MACKAIL.—I move that the present Vice-Presidents be continued in office for next year—their names are familiar to older members of the Association; that to their number be added Lord Curzon, who unfortunately will cease to be our President before we have enjoyed more than the mere shadow of his name, and whom we desire to retain as one of our governing body; Canon Hicks, the distinguished President of the Manchester Branch; and Professor Conway, who retired from the Council some time ago, and who has been so instrumental in bringing about the brilliant success of this meeting. I further have to move that the present Secretaries be re-elected for next year, and that on the resignation of Dr. Kenyon (a resignation which his colleagues all deplore) the Council be empowered to make such arrangements for the Treasurership as will be convenient.

The election and re-election of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries were seconded by Dr. F. G. KENYON, and the motion respecting the Treasurership by Professor J. P. POSTGATE, who said :

“I should like to express our sense of the very great obligations which we are under to Dr. Kenyon, whose retirement from the office of Honorary Treasurer we all

deplore. I am sure, from my own experience when I was Honorary Secretary, that it would be impossible for any one to discharge the duties in a more complete manner."

The motions were carried unanimously.

For the five vacant places on the Council the following were nominated—the Rev. and Hon. E. Lyttelton, the Master of Peterhouse (Dr. A. W. Ward), Mr. T. E. Page, Miss J. F. Dove, Dr. F. G. Kenyon. Another nomination, of which notice had been given, was withdrawn.

Professor CONWAY.—I wish to make one remark for which later on, I think, the Association will be grateful. I had hoped that it would perhaps be possible among the names suggested for membership of the Council to include a member of our own Manchester Branch, whose name is well known to Greek scholars as the editor of the *Phaedo*. I should not dream of questioning the wisdom of the nominations prepared by the Council, even if the very great and unexpected honour they have done to me did not seal my lips; but I still hope that the time will soon come when the Association will have an opportunity of electing to the Council my brilliant friend and colleague, Mr. Harold Williamson, the indefatigable Treasurer of the Manchester Branch, and the author of two of the most important articles in *Melandra Castle*. It is not too much to say that he has really been the brains of our committee; his insight and sound judgment have determined our decision on every important proposal.

Mr. BUTCHER.—It is perhaps right that I should explain that the Council were deeply sensible of the importance of the work done by the Manchester Branch, and felt a very strong desire to show some recognition of the services rendered by this Branch to the Association as a whole. For the present year they thought it wise to recommend that Canon Hicks and Professor Conway should hold office as Vice-Presidents, thus ensuring that whenever they could

attend the meetings of Council, the Council should have the benefit of their advice.

The five candidates named above were then elected unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN.—We must now fix the place and date of the next General Meeting.

Mr. HARRISON.—In the name of the Cambridge members of the Council, and, I believe, in the name of the Cambridge members of the Association, I have great pleasure in proposing that the next General Meeting of the Association take place at Cambridge on Friday and Saturday, October 18th and 19th, next year.

The motion was seconded by the Rev. Dr. A. C. HEADLAM, and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN.—The next item on the paper is the most important business of the day. It is the report¹ of the Pronunciation Committee, and I would formally move the resolution which you will find in the report :

“That the Classical Association recommends for adoption the changes of Latin pronunciation approved by the Pronunciation Committee, and by the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge.”

The Pronunciation Report arises, as you will remember, out of a resolution carried in January, 1905 :

“That the Council be requested to nominate a representative Committee to consider and report on the best method of introducing a uniform pronunciation of Latin into the Universities and Schools of the country, and that it be an instruction to this Committee to confer with the Committee to be appointed for a similar purpose by the Classical Association of Scotland.

“That the same Committee be empowered, if they

¹ The report is printed on pp. 68-78.

deem it advisable, to consider what changes in the present pronunciation of Greek should be recommended for general adoption."

Our Committee (whose names are mentioned in the report) are, I think, truly representative both of the Universities and of the schools of the country. We have held conferences with the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge, and these societies concur in recommending a scheme of pronunciation which is almost verbally identical with that which the Committee now place before you. Further, we have, in accordance with our instructions, conferred with the Classical Association of Scotland. They have carried a similar scheme to our own, but have deferred their final acceptance of it in detail till they have heard what action we propose to take. I will presently ask Dr. Heard to tell the meeting what has been done in Scotland. We have gone forward gradually, feeling our way, making good our ground as we went; and the result is, we have a prospect of co-operation and agreement in promoting a uniform pronunciation such as has never yet been known in England. The resolution about to be submitted to you relates, you will observe, to Latin pronunciation only. For the convenience of the Association, we have, indeed, put forward a draft scheme for the pronunciation of Greek also; but we do not ask you to vote on it to-day. If you now adopt our proposal for the pronunciation of Latin, what I would suggest is that you should at the same time give an instruction to the Council to bring up at the next General Meeting a scheme of Greek pronunciation; and meanwhile, any criticisms that occur to members of the Association on the draft scheme for Greek now before you will be fully considered before the Committee submit a further report. As our time to-day is very limited, I think it will be best for practical purposes to restrict ourselves entirely to the discussion of the Latin scheme.

In considering a reform of our pronunciation there are, of

course, two distinct questions. One is, what is the true phonetic value of the sounds? That is a question of science — of philological science. The other is, how far shall we attempt to reproduce these sounds in teaching and learning? That is a question of practice; we must aim at what is feasible in schools and Universities. Now, the Committee recommend a pronunciation which shall approximate in a high degree to what is known to be the true value of the sounds. They do not, however, attempt to aim at perfect scientific accuracy, or absolute precision in detail. The niceties and subtleties of pronunciation are not, in their opinion, fitted for school teaching. In practice we must be content with what is approximately right. The Committee have gone as far as they thought possible in reconciling the claims of science and of practice. In their scheme, therefore, they distinguish between points which they consider to be primary and those which they regard as secondary; they would lay stress on the essentials. There are, as everybody knows, many difficult and controversial questions touching Latin pronunciation. These they have set aside. I received this year a letter from a distinguished classical professor at Harvard, and his warning is, in my opinion, of great importance. He says there is a party in America who insist that it was a mistake to give up the English pronunciation. It is a reaction against the excessive demands sometimes made by learned scholars, demands which are too rigorous for human infirmity. Though he has no sympathy with their main contention, "I adjure you," he says, "to be very slow in adopting in schools the teaching of 'hidden quantity.' It has been a curse to us in this country. It is just the sort of thing that half-educated teachers seize upon with avidity, and it adds a serious burden to a boy's work. Of course, every real scholar knows that there are extremely few things which we really *know* about 'hidden quantities,' the great mass of what the books tell being theory, and constantly shifting. I could enlarge on this, but I spare you." I, too, will spare the Association, having added my word of warning,

Our hope is that members of the Association will do their utmost to promote accurate and uniform pronunciation. Absolute uniformity is beyond the range of what is possible. But we present a scheme which in essentials we are convinced is correct. If not perfect, it offers a standard pronunciation to which teachers and pupils should attempt to conform. If adopted, it will effect an entire revolution in the barbarous pronunciation which now prevails. One need not go into the many arguments in favour of this reform. They are recapitulated in the preamble to the report. I would only remind you that the English pronunciation is not merely inaccurate; it is ludicrously incorrect and unscientific. It is, moreover, purely insular. Besides, it is confined to one of the countries which form the United Kingdom. Scotland, Ireland, and Wales differ widely from England, which stands alone in the civilised world in being wholly wrong. Further, the Association is aware that some reform has been carried out already in this country; but the number of schools affected by it is comparatively small, and a reform so partial and incomplete has merely heightened the general confusion. A Babel of dialects is spoken in the schools, and an unfortunate boy, in passing from his preparatory school to his secondary school, and then to the University, often passes through different zones of pronunciation, and comes out utterly perplexed as to what is right and what is wrong.

The reformed pronunciation is said to be laborious; but those who have made the experiment assure us that the labour required to be spent on it is not greater than that of learning to pronounce wrongly from the outset. This is not mere theory. We have solid experience on our side. And the gains are great. A true pronunciation links together speech and writing, language and literature, in a way that makes the pupil feel that the ancient language was once a spoken tongue, with laws of its own. Classical literature then becomes less remote from life; it is seen to be a natural expression of thought. Again, a true pronunciation links together the ancient and the modern world; it brings out

the relation between Latin and the Romance languages, and simplifies the learning of almost all modern languages. "Any one," says Professor Skeat, "who has once learnt the true sound of the Latin symbols, has the true clue to the history of nearly every language in Europe." The reform, therefore, appeals to the historical as well as to the literary sense.

In dealing with Greek pronunciation we must proceed more cautiously. It is a far more delicate and difficult problem than the pronunciation of Latin. I doubt if we can attempt to reproduce the old musical intonation of the Greek accents; but we may well try to reform the pronunciation of the vowels and of the more important consonants. The aspirates ϕ and θ , on the other hand, present serious difficulties. To aim at a pedantically accurate reproduction of these sounds would probably defeat the object we have at heart. But I will not forestall our final report. I would only add that all suggestions will receive the best attention of the Committee.

I will now ask Mr. Rushbrooke to second the resolution.

MR. W. G. RUSHBROOKE.—My only title to second this motion is that I have been in the habit of teaching the restored pronunciation of Latin for many years; and I embrace the opportunity of speaking because it enables me to pay a public, or semi-public, tribute to my own head master, Dr. Abbott, who six-and-thirty years ago introduced the reformed pronunciation in the City of London School. There is a special appropriateness in referring to Dr. Abbott—a pioneer in so many fields—before a conference in which two of his old pupils, Professor Conway and Professor Rhys Roberts, are taking a prominent part, and in a city where another of his old pupils, Mr. C. E. Montague, is so distinguished an ornament to its daily journalism. And these will be prepared to witness that, at least at the City of London School—in spite of the amazing utterance of Dr. Welldon last night—the restored pronunciation of Latin constituted no obstacle to its acquisition. Hence, when St. Olave's was entrusted to me in 1893, it was natural for me to introduce the system with the successful working

of which I had been so long familiar. Nor did I find any difficulty with boys or with parents or with colleagues. The real difficulty in the introduction or the carrying on of the restored pronunciation, when any difficulty exists, lies in the inertia of the head master; and how great that inertia can be was illustrated in the speech of the late head master of Harrow, for which he very properly claimed the epithet of "provocative." It is, perhaps, worth adding that during the last two or three years the restored pronunciation of the vowels in Greek has been in use at St. Olave's; but I believe that more than this has been done, and for a longer period, by that distinguished scholar and eager pioneer in educational experiment, Dr. Rouse of Cambridge.

I have here with me a few statistics concerning the schools that are using the restored pronunciation. An inquiry addressed by the Assistant Masters' Association last year to some one hundred and four schools elicited the fact that no less than thirty-four regularly employ the restored pronunciation; ten employ both styles, the old and the new; while the majority of the staff in twenty-three out of the sixty that at present employ the English pronunciation are in favour of reform. In some cases it was definitely stated that they were restrained from reform by the reluctance of the head masters. In all girls' schools the reformed pronunciation is believed to be in use. The great public schools are hard to move, and the preparatory schools are consequently at present bound to the English method; but seeing that so large a number out of the total of one hundred and four to whom the inquiry was addressed use the reformed pronunciation already, there appears to be ground for believing that the movement for reform may soon be brought to a successful issue.

Professor POSTGATE.—I do not think after what other speakers have said about the remarks of the Dean of Manchester that I need deal as fully with his heresies as I might otherwise have done. In this matter I care

nothing for the ideally accurate; the one thing I care about is the truth so far as we can get it in practice.

There are two grounds in particular upon which I would recommend the resolution to the meeting to-day. The first is that by doing away with the hideous confusion which obtains at present it will lighten the labour of teaching the classics by insuring that the teacher will be intelligible to the whole of his class. The second is that it will sensibly increase our appreciation of the living value of ancient Latin authors. Let me illustrate first by an example taken from a modern classic. When Falstaff, in a famous phrase from the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, says, "If *reasons* were as plentiful as blackberries, I would give no man a reason on compulsion," how much do we lose if we do not remember that in Shakespeare's time *reason* was pronounced with the vowel with which we now hear it pronounced in the sister isle, not differing in sound from *raisin*? Let me next take an illustration from a Latin dramatist. In Plautus's *Menaechmi*, 656, one of the characters says to another, "Do you want an owl brought to be always saying *tu tu*?" What does a pupil think of this if he is taught to pronounce this *tew tew*? Knowing that owls say *too too*, and not *tew tew*, and thus being unable to see the owl in the context, he will, I imagine, find it in the author or the teacher.

I should be very sorry if it were supposed that we were going to impose the scheme upon an unwilling public in schools or elsewhere rigorously and in all its details. The scheme has been considered, as you know, by the two Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge, consisting chiefly of resident teachers. They not only approve of it, but are now adopting it. It is adopted in Cambridge. I have here a long list of supporters which has been circulated on behalf of the Cambridge Society, which includes all but the whole of the teachers of the classical languages in that University. At Oxford, which I am glad to see is represented here to-day by my friend

Professor Robinson Ellis, who has attended this meeting at much personal inconvenience, the feeling is strongly in favour of adopting this scheme practically. I lay stress upon this part of the question because of the past discord. An attempt which was made some twenty years ago to introduce the new pronunciation into general use was reckoned to have a very fair chance of success, but it proved a failure simply through want of unanimity. I do hope that we shall not destroy our chance of unanimously carrying this reform by controversies over points of detail, for which, indeed, there is not time to-day. We can consistently leave those who are more competent to deal with the difficult points. I therefore trust that members who may not be quite satisfied with this resolution will pause before opposing a scheme which comes to them with the agreement of two important bodies, the teachers of Oxford and Cambridge.

Dr. W. A. HEARD.—I am afraid the communications between the Scottish Committee and the English Committee have been somewhat intermittent and informal, but it was felt desirable under the circumstances of the case that somebody should attend your meeting to-day and give any information that you might desire to have. I am extremely sorry that Professor Hardie, who is the Chairman of our Committee, was detained by University business, and that I had, almost at the last moment, to take his place.

The movement in Scotland has really been altogether a practical one. It is not there a question merely of pronunciation, but is a part of the whole question of the teaching of the classics. I think it has been felt very strongly that classics have suffered very much in Scotland, as they certainly have in England, from forgetting that language was intended to be uttered and spoken, not merely read by the eye; and in Scotland, where, with the exception of one or two schools, there is no training in versification, I am sorry to say that the respect for quantity has fallen rather short of what it should be. The movement, however,

for the introduction of reformed pronunciation is part of the whole method of teaching of classics there, and it is a practical question which has been dealt with very largely in direct communication with schools. Our committee first of all drew up a draft of recommendations, and they then despatched this to all the schools in Scotland where there is classical teaching going on, without paying any attention to the question whether the staff of these schools was represented on the Association or not. They were subsequently asked to communicate with us in writing, and give their opinions about any particular details, and about the possibilities of the whole scheme. We did not appeal only to head masters, but to all the masters who were engaged in classical teaching. We got a good deal of information through this method, and we have had at all the meetings of the Association an interest in the scheme that promises well for success. In fact, I have no doubt that we shall arrive at what we were very desirous of getting—a complete uniformity throughout Scotland. We have, over and above the schools, the co-operation of the professors of the four Universities. In addition to that the Scottish Education Department has intimated to the Committee that they are at one with us about the desired reform, and that the influence of the Department will be used to get this scheme carried through. I should say, however, that the difficulty is not so great as it is in the south, as the method of pronunciation in Scotland has been all along less insular; and although certain changes will have to be made, the effort required is not so great as in the south. I remember very well the pronunciation of Latin in the south, where I was educated at a school to which I owe the very deepest obligation; but I am bound to say their pronunciation of Latin I have not unwillingly been called upon to leave behind me. I think that this scheme is very desirable in every respect, and I believe it is very much easier to carry out than people would suppose. I really do not think there would be any great difficulty about it. I quite agree that

the difficulty is not in the boys and not in the parents. I will not say where the difficulty lies, but I am sure it is not insurmountable, and I think the testimony is very strong to the advantages of the reformed over the English pronunciation. It is an admitted thing that the improvement in the understanding of Latin has been quite enough to compensate for the labour in acquiring the change. There are two points of difference in our Scotch syllabus I should like to mention—the pronunciation of *æ* and the pronunciation of *v*—as to which we speak with more reserve.

Professor SONNENSCHNIDT communicated part of a letter from Miss M. C. DAWES, which had the support of Mrs. A. S. Lewis, LL.D., D.D., and Mrs. M. D. Gibson, LL.D., D.D., as follows:—

“ Whilst the imperative need of a uniform scheme of pronunciation is beyond question, and it is quite evident that the old basis of English custom has broken down, I submit—agreeing that the starting-point should be the ancient pronunciation itself—that a more satisfactory reform would be found in the contemporary pronunciation of Italian than in a pronunciation resulting from philological research, whether more or whether less approximate to the ancient pronunciation. I wish to note especially that the basis would still be the ancient pronunciation, but to maintain as regards the question of accuracy that the advantages accruing from a traditional and national pronunciation outweigh those of a scientific pronunciation, even though, as in the case of Latin, the latter may for certain sounds give a more accurate rendering of the ancient pronunciation. This is not the place to discuss how much or how little the contemporary pronunciation of Italian may differ from the ancient pronunciation of Latin; but granted that sounds such as those of the consonants *c* and *s* were not pronounced in Latin as they are now in Italian, and that, as pointed out by Dr. Sandys at the meeting of 1905, the peculiar method of dealing with *c* and *g* before *e* and *i* is one of the objections to the Italian pronunciation, yet I contend

that for all practical purposes of teaching, studying, and speaking languages a pronunciation which is in contemporary use is to be preferred to one which is not. If Latin be learnt for the purposes of study exclusively, it still remains a fact that the more it can be taught as a living language the more easily and the more thoroughly will it be mastered, and its spirit grasped in a way it never can be if it is learnt as a dead language; and hence a theoretical pronunciation, which is necessarily artificial, and as such at once introduces an element of unreality, is an undeniable impediment to the object in view. Nor is the purely utilitarian aspect of the question to be despised in these cosmopolitan days of general intercourse, travel, and commerce; it has been amply and of recent years in frequent instances emphasised by personal experience—*e.g.* by examples quoted at the General Meeting of this Association in 1905 by Sir E. Maunde Thompson and Dr. Sandys. In considering more especially the question of ease of acquirement, I would maintain that the only way to ‘avoid placing any unnecessary difficulty in the way of beginners’ is to adopt such a pronunciation as alone can impart the breath of life to the so-called ‘dead’ languages, and that is a living pronunciation, which in the case of Latin is that of one of its direct descendants.”

The CHAIRMAN.—Does any one propose formally, as an amendment, that the pronunciation of Italian be adopted?

No such amendment was proposed.

The Rev. L. G. B. J. FORD.—I did not come to speak, but to learn, and perhaps I may make a confession of failure in the past to appreciate the advantages of the new pronunciation. I was not absolutely convinced until to-day. I am convinced now, and I am going back to try and convert my colleagues. The restored pronunciation is, we believe, the right pronunciation, and I shall do my best to secure its adoption in my own school.

Mr. W. G. WILLIAMS.—With regard to the report that has been circulated, I should be very sorry to imply for a

moment that we do not know Italian. There is only one member of the Association who is not familiar with the pronunciation of Italian, and that is myself. This report, however, must go largely beyond the limits of the Association, and I wish to suggest that it be explained more lucidly and more intelligibly, for the good of the cause.

Mr. W. W. VAUGHAN.—I should like to have permission to speak of my own experience as regards the difficulties of getting this new pronunciation adopted. At the school where I was as a boy one master insisted upon this new pronunciation. At first it seemed strange, but any difficulty very soon disappeared, and we forgot after a few weeks that we had ever pronounced Latin in any other way. It was only in his form that it was taught, and the boys when they left it very soon relapsed into the old ways; but some of them certainly never forgot the pleasanter sounds with which they had been familiar for a brief period. Afterwards, at another school where I was as a master for many years, we tried this new pronunciation, but it was given up. The reason was not because the boys found it difficult, but because certain of the staff, who preferred to hear the line—

Jane biceps, anni tacite labentis origo,

to what it would be in the new pronunciation, offered obstinate opposition. It is not worth while for a head master to fight beyond a certain point, and the fight, I am sorry to say, was given up. The people who must be converted before this reform can be carried are not the boys, not even the head masters, but the assistant masters, in many cases members of the Classical Association.

Mr. A. E. BERNAYS.—The report of the Classical Association says that the double consonants are to be separately pronounced—one in one syllable and the other in the other. That shows very well the care with which our Committee has gone into the matter. As one who has had the opportunity of reading through the answers to the questions sent out a few years ago by the Assistant Masters' Association,

I do feel most strongly that the chaos at present existing is greater than most people realise. There are no two schools in England, I believe, which pronounce Latin in the same way. To take one picturesque instance: at Winchester they pronounce *a* as *ah*, but all the other vowels are pronounced in the ordinary English way. With regard to the suggestion that we should adopt the Italian pronunciation, which is the pronunciation of the Roman Catholic Church, I have inquired of priests who have taken an interest in the matter, and they tell me that the introduction of the Italian *ch* for *c* is quite modern in England. It was introduced from Italy in the nineteenth century, and before that the English Roman Catholics had not used that pronunciation. If you go into a Roman Catholic Church in France you will find that the *c* is the *c* of France, and in Spain it is the *c* of Spain. I think that we should pass this resolution unanimously.

Mr. H. CRADOCK-WATSON.—It is with some anxiety that I rise, seeing that head masters have already been labelled as sinners; but I feel that it is possible to suffer from too much unanimity, as it may lead to false impressions about the unanimity outside this meeting. I hope I shall not be misunderstood or looked upon entirely as a Philistine, because I for the moment disagree with the adoption of the pronunciation proposed; but I am meeting with many difficulties. For instance, to teach a boy that the pronunciation of *ae* is “*nearly* as *ai* in *Isaiah*,” and of *oe* “*nearly* as *oi* in *boil*,” seems to me a little vague. The same difficulty no doubt arises in modern language teaching, but here the language has to be spoken, and boys understand the necessity of mastering a difficult pronunciation. In the other case they are not likely to come in contact with an ancient Roman, and so they get neither the living example nor the same stimulus to correct pronunciation. This point, therefore, seems to me not quite practical, and the sound *ai* at any rate an ugly and difficult one, and I should like to hear more on this head.

I was also interested to hear what has been said about the pronunciation in the Roman Catholic Church and in Scotland, and one may be pardoned for saying there is not complete uniformity here. For myself, I am open to "conversion," and I should propose, as a practical measure, that this question of the new pronunciation be brought up at the next meeting of the Head Masters' Conference by some representatives of this Association who are also members of the Conference.

The CHAIRMAN.—It is the intention of the Council, if the general scheme is carried, to communicate with the Head Masters' Conference and other bodies of secondary teachers in the country. We recognise, of course, that we must carry the teachers with us, and we shall lose no time in making that communication.

Professor R. S. CONWAY.—I am sorry that my voice should be heard again to-day, but Mr. Cradock-Watson's bait is really too tempting. He asks why we should trouble to distinguish *ae* from *e*. Let me ask him whether a schoolboy doesn't generally distinguish fairly sharply between the notions, "I'll back out" and "I'll knock you down." If so, isn't it an advantage not to pronounce *cedam* and *caedam* as if they were the same word?

Mr. L. R. F. OLDERSHAW.—I should like to add testimony to the new pronunciation from a point of view which is seldom heard by the Classical Association. I have always hesitated to press it because I did not wish to give myself away. I am one of those who deal with boys after primary and secondary education have done with them, and may perhaps call myself a professor of tertiary education. I am, in short, a crammer. I am convinced that the restored pronunciation will enable boys to take a further interest in the classics. I feel sure that if this proposal is adopted throughout the country its value will be realised, as it will make pupils understand that Latin is a real language, and will stimulate them to understand it more thoroughly. I should like to urge its unanimous adoption by this meeting.

My experience has been that it is not at all difficult to teach even boys of seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen this new pronunciation in a very short time. I find some difficulty myself in mastering it completely, and my difficulty is very often my pupils' help, because, if one has no false shame, the endeavour to teach what is not always quite clear to one's self is a very stimulating thing to pupils. I therefore think I may be permitted to urge from my point of view the value of this teaching.

The CHAIRMAN.—The resolution is :—

“That the Classical Association recommends for adoption the changes of Latin pronunciation approved by the Pronunciation Committee, and by the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge.”

This means that you express your approval of the report in its main recommendations; it is not intended to bind you rigorously to all its details.

The resolution was carried, with two dissentients.

The CHAIRMAN.—There is one other resolution, which Professor Sonnenschein will move.

Professor SONNENSCHIEIN.—The resolution which I have to propose arises out of that which has just been passed. Perhaps I may be allowed to say in introducing it that I have been for twenty-five years a supporter and practitioner of a reformed pronunciation of Latin—not exactly what is proposed in our syllabus, but something very like it. I have also had some experience in teaching a reformed pronunciation to my own children, and I should like to add my testimony as to the perfect ease with which a reformed pronunciation may be taught, provided that the ears of the learners have not been vitiated by a different method of pronunciation. Mr. Cradock-Watson has suggested that it is, after all, not a matter of very great importance that we should be able to communicate with the shade of Cicero when we meet him hereafter in the future life. Personally

I have a great deal of sympathy with that point of view. Our object is not to communicate with the shade either of Cicero or of Catiline, as the case may be. The pronunciation of Latin exists for the purpose of converse with the living, not converse with the dead; and by converse with the living I mean not necessarily conversation, but at any rate that oral intercommunication between teacher and pupils which is a practical necessity in the teaching of any language. For this purpose the reformed pronunciation, which assigns a definite and invariable value to each symbol of the alphabet, has great practical convenience. The great vice of the conventional English pronunciation is that it leads to systematic violations of quantity—*nēque*, *quīdem*, *tāmen*, *dōmus*, and so forth; in fact, all iambic words are systematically mispronounced. Moreover, my experience as a teacher in the University of Birmingham makes me feel strongly the importance of a reform which will bring us some degree of unanimity of practice, so that pupils coming from different schools will pronounce approximately in the same way. On the other hand, I should protest against any attempt to introduce a rigidly historical method of pronunciation of Latin, with all its niceties of intonation and sentence-accent. I do not refer to word-accent, which is an easy matter; and, indeed, the current pronunciation of Latin is substantially correct on this point. But as to the niceties referred to above, even if we could recover the exact pronunciation of Latin as it existed in the time of Cicero, I should think it a dangerous thing to introduce into schools; for it would be quite as difficult to teach as the pronunciation of modern French, and I believe that the difficulties which it would involve to teachers and taught would be almost fatal to the future of the study. What we want is a simple and practically useful pronunciation. The present time seems exceptionally favourable for a reform, since there is now greater unanimity in England and Scotland on the subject than has existed since the time of the Tudors.

The Board of Education has recently taken steps to encourage the reformed pronunciation in Scotland, and the question arises whether it would not be desirable that similar steps should be taken in England, with a view to giving our scheme the best possible chance of being widely adopted. I beg, therefore, to move the following resolution :—

“That the Council be instructed to draw up a memorial to the President of the Board of Education, asking him to take action towards securing the adoption of a uniform system of pronouncing Latin, according to the principles of the Classical Association, in secondary schools aided by grants from the Board.”

The Rev. Dr. A. C. HEADLAM.—It has been said that there will be much difficulty to be met with in teaching the new pronunciation to boys. I do not believe that it is there that the difficulty comes in, and I second this resolution most heartily. Those who will really be injured by the new pronunciation are people like myself, who have learned their classics in the old way and who have left off teaching them, and have no leisure or opportunity to acquire the new method. Some of the older masters, too, are opposed to this reform, as it would be a great disadvantage to them. But I personally am perfectly prepared to suffer, and I hope that they are prepared to suffer, because it will be a great advantage when uniformity is secured. I have never been able to understand why it is that public schools have been supposed to destroy interest in classical learning. They certainly did not do so in my own case. There is only one thing I look back to which I feel was a misfortune, and that was that I was not taught to use the language orally. I think that was a disadvantage. In a good classical training one should be taught to speak the language as well as to read and write it. It would be a tremendous advantage if boys were taught the aspirates in Greek in something like a scientific manner, because one of the difficulties in travelling in the East is to learn the aspirates. It certainly

brings the consonant sounds into connexion with the spoken sounds of Oriental languages generally. I am speaking of my own Oriental experience. If one had training in the pronunciation of aspirates in oral lessons it would be of immense advantage. I found this in trying Arabic. The essential point is that every single pupil should learn to speak, and you cannot give these oral lessons without uniform pronunciation. We must take every step we can to make the pronunciation uniform.

Mr. H. F. POOLKY.—If I may be allowed, I should like to say a few words. I am sorry this has been sprung upon us at the last moment. I am glad we are all unanimous on this great question of pronunciation, but I am not at all sure whether it is a wise thing to send in the resolution to the President of the Board of Education. I am myself a retired assistant secretary of that Board, and I know a great deal about its ways, and it seems to me that it is a very questionable proceeding to ask the Board of Education to take the responsibility of the new pronunciation. I am sure they would rather not have this thrust upon them, and I think that if this great and necessary reform were brought about in any way by the action of the Board of Education, both the public and the teaching profession would say they did not like this scheme being put upon them by the Board. It would be far better to work it ourselves from the inside than from without. I confess I would rather not have the responsibility of agreeing with this resolution.

Professor CONWAY.—May I make an amendment? I wish to move, sir, that this resolution, so far as it relates to the Board of Education, be referred to the Council, and that they be empowered to take action in the matter.

Professor SONNENSCHN.—We do not want an external, mechanical authority; we do not desire the application of force: but I agree that the Board of Education might very well be informed at least of the attitude of this Association—officially informed—together with such comments as may suggest themselves to the Council.

Mr. H. F. POOLEY.—I agree with what Professor Sonnenschein has said—that the Council inform the Board of Education of the decision of the Classical Association upon this question, and simply inform them of the result of our deliberations here, and then leave it to the Board of Education to do what they think fit. I feel certain that the Board of Education will not attempt to interfere in a question of this kind. They have never laid down fixed rules or principles of teaching any subject.

Professor E. V. ARNOLD.—I beg to propose the adjournment of the debate for fuller deliberation. I feel the strongest objection to invoking the aid of the State.

The CHAIRMAN.—I think it will at least meet with the approval of the meeting that the Council should communicate this scheme to the Board of Education.

Mr. H. F. POOLEY.—I think that would meet the case, but it would be a fatal mistake to go beyond that.

Professor SONNENSCHIEIN.—I beg leave, then, to withdraw my resolution.

The CHAIRMAN.—I ask the meeting to pass a vote of thanks, and to express its cordial gratitude for the courteous hospitality, both private and public, which we have received in Manchester during the past two or three days. I know what the organisation of a big business like this means, and I have also reason to know how immense has been the labour which has been bestowed by certain people. The University and the city have joined in giving us a welcome far beyond anything hoped for. The University has put at our disposal its building, it has received us in its new hall, our meetings have been graced by the presence and support of the Vice-Chancellor. No one who was present yesterday can forget that memorable scene when the Lord Mayor of Manchester added his voice to that of the University authorities in giving us welcome. I might say much about the private hospitality given to us, but I will only say this, that many who came as strangers go away

as friends. One has seen how closely united in this city are academic learning and industrial life, and we shall carry away not only the most grateful memories, but also the most hopeful encouragement for the future of our work. I therefore move a vote of cordial thanks to the University and the City of Manchester and to the Manchester Local Committee.

The vote of thanks was carried unanimously, and the proceedings ended.

In the afternoon Professor BOYD DAWKINS took a party of the members to Chester, and pointed out, while going round the walls, that there were two distinct Roman fortresses included under the name Deva. The first and the smaller, with its two main streets crossing each other nearly in the centre, occupies the south-east portion of the later and the larger. It is proved by the burials just outside its walls to belong to the period between the Roman conquest and A.D. 100. This was enlarged about A.D. 210 so as to include the old burial ground by the prolongation of the east wall northwards, and the south wall as far to the west as the Roodeye, the larger rectangle being completed by new walls on the west and on the north.

Afterwards, by the courtesy of the authorities, the fine collection of Roman remains was thrown open to the members, and a short address was given on the more important of the objects.

Note.—The chief arrangements for the Manchester Meeting were made by the Executive of the Manchester and District Branch, of which Canon Hicks was the President, Mr. H. Williamson the Treasurer, Professor Conway the Chairman of the Committee, and Miss D. Limebeer and Mr. W. J. Goodrich the Honorary Secretaries. Arrangements for hospitality were made by a committee of which Mrs. Alfred Hopkinson was the Chairman, and Mr. A. S. Warman the Honorary Secretary.

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¹ Chairman on Friday evening and Saturday.

² Chairman on Friday afternoon.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS,

	<i>Receipts.</i>					<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Balance, January 1st, 1906	477	15	1
Entrance fees (154)	38	10	0
Subscriptions for 1905, in arrear (25)	6	5	0
,, ,, 1906 (736)	184	0	0
,, ,, 1907 (57)	14	5	0
,, ,, 1908 (46)	11	10	0
,, ,, 1909 (15)	3	15	0
,, ,, life (11)	41	5	0
Dividends on investments	11	19	4
Colonial and American payments	2	18	10
Profit on American exchange	0	0	8

* Exclusive of expenses borne by the University of Manchester and the local Branch.

† Of this balance £76 10s. represents entrance fees, £102 10s. subscriptions paid in advance for 1907—1909, and £322 10s. life compositions. The account for the *Proceedings* for the year (£63 11s. 7d.) and a further account for clerical assistance (£7 10s.) were not received in time for inclusion in this statement.

£792 3 11

Examined and found correct,
(Signed) C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

67

JANUARY 1ST TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1906.

<i>Expenditure.</i>				£	s.	d.
Printing and stationery (general)	...	...	...	23	1	7
Postage	...	...	...	15	18	1
Clerical assistance	...	...	...	29	4	2
Travelling expenses of members of Council...	...	...	...	27	12	8
Expenses of General Meeting in London :—			£ s. d.			
Printing	...	...	...	3	4	6
Use of rooms, refreshments, etc.	...	...	...	20	10	4
Reporting	...	...	...	15	18	0
		Total	...	...	39	12 10
Expenses of General Meeting in Manchester* :—			£ s. d.			
Printing	...	...	...	9	2	0
Postage	...	...	...	1	10	8
Clerical work	...	...	...	0	13	10
Reporting	...	...	...	7	13	6
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	1	13	6
		Total	...	...	20	13 6
Capitation grants to Manchester Branch	...	...	...	2	15	0
" " " Birmingham	...	...	...	4	5	0
Curricula Committee, printing	...	...	...	10	12	6
Pronunciation " " and postage	...	...	...	9	13	4
Investigations " " ...	...	...	...	0	18	6
Spelling " " ...	...	...	...	1	6	0
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	0	6	3
				185	19	5
Balance, December 31 st , 1906 †:—			£ s. d.			
Invested in New Zealand 3½% Stock	...	...	...	288	15	0
On deposit	...	...	...	100	0	0
Total invested or on deposit	...	...	...	388	15	0
In bank	...	...	...	222	13	0
Credit with Messrs. Murray	...	...	...	12	2	
			223	5	2	
Less cheques not presented and petty cash due to Treasurer	...	...	...	5	15	8
Total cash balance	...	...	...	217	9	6
				£792	3	11

(Signed) F. G. KENYON.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN (AND GREEK)

At the Second General Meeting of the Association held in London on January 6th, 1905, the following Resolution was proposed by Mr. S. H. Butcher, supported by Dr. J. E. Sandys, the Public Orator of the University of Cambridge, Mr. F. M. Cornford, Honorary Secretary of the Cambridge Classical Society, and others, and after some discussion was adopted with all but complete unanimity :—

“That the Council be requested to nominate a representative Committee to consider and report on the best method of introducing a uniform pronunciation of Latin into the Universities and Schools of the country, and that it be an instruction to this Committee to confer with the Committee to be appointed for a similar purpose by the Classical Association of Scotland.

“That the same Committee be empowered, if they deem it advisable, to consider what changes in the present pronunciation of Greek should be recommended for general adoption.”

The Council accordingly sought the advice of the following representative Committee of Teachers and Scholars whose experience or special knowledge gave authority to their judgment upon the question : Mr. S. H. Butcher, Dr. R. S. Conway, Mr. C. A. A. Du Pontet, M.A., Professor Robinson Ellis, Mr. R. C. Gilson, M.A., Dr. J. P. Postgate, Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, Mr. W. G. Rushbrooke, M.A., Mr. S. E. Winbolt, M.A., and Miss M. H. Wood, M.A. Their report on the Pronunciation of Latin is embodied in the scheme sent herewith. The Committee

is pleased to find that the Classical Association of Scotland has adopted a scheme on similar lines.

After a preliminary consideration of the Classical Association's scheme, the Philological Societies at Oxford and Cambridge, at a joint meeting held at Oxford, moved in the same direction, and adopted substantially identical proposals, which the Council of the Classical Association decided to support. The Council *appeals to all classical teachers in the United Kingdom to adopt the method of pronunciation here set forth*, and by so doing to remove the diversities and ambiguities of practice which have long been a serious obstacle to every stage, and especially to the early stages, of classical study in this country. Appended are copies of—

- (i) Latin Pronunciation Scheme of the Oxford and Cambridge Philological Societies.
- (ii) Preamble to the Report of the Pronunciation Committee of the Classical Association.
- (iii) Latin Pronunciation Scheme of the Classical Association.
- (iv) Greek Pronunciation Scheme of the Classical Association.

The following resolution will be moved on behalf of the Council :—

“That the Classical Association recommends for adoption by the teachers of Latin throughout the United Kingdom, the changes of Latin pronunciation approved by the Pronunciation Committee, and by the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge.”

THE RESTORED PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN

(Scheme approved by the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge)

Quantity.

In pronunciation the quantities of the vowels must be strictly observed: e.g. *lābor*, not as English *labour*; *mīnor*, not as English *minor*; *nōta*, not as English *note*. This is essential for the proper appreciation, in prose, of sound, rhythm, and

distinctions of meaning (e.g. *lābor*, *lābor*); and in verse, of metre also.

Vowels.

The following is approximately the pronunciation of the vowels:—

- ā (prātum), as *a* in *fāther*, not as *a* in *māte*.
- ă (răpit), the same sound shortened, as *a* in *ăha*.
- ē (mēta), as Germ. *e* in *nehmen*, not as *ee* in *mēet*.
- ĕ (frĕta), as *e* in *frĕt*, not as *ee* in *mēet*.
- ī (fīdo), as *ee* in *fĕed* (Fr. *ie* in *amie*), not as *i* in *fine*.
- ĭ (plīco), as *i* in *fīt*, not as *i* in *fine*.
- ō (nōtus), as Italian *o* in *Rōma*.
- ŏ (nōta), as *o* in *nōt* (Fr. *o* in *botte*), not as *o* in *nōte*.
- ū (tūto), as *oo* in *shoot* (Ital. *u* in *lūna*), not as *u* (*yoo*) in *acūte*.
- ũ (cūtis), as *u* in *full*, not as *u* in *accūrate*, nor as *u* in *shūn*.

Diphthongs.

The sounds of the diphthongs may be arrived at by running the two component vowel-sounds rapidly together, the second being pronounced lightly. The most important are:—

- ae (portae) = a + e, nearly as *ai* in *Isaiah* (broadly pronounced), Fr. *émaîl*, not as *a* in *late*.
- au (aurum) = a + u, as *ou* in *hour* (as Ital. *au* in *flauto*), not as *aw* in *awful*.
- oe (poena) = o + e, nearly as *oi* in *boil*, not as *ee* in *feet*, nor as *a* in *late*.

In recommending these sounds for *ae* and *oe*, the Societies are guided mainly by practical considerations, since it has been found by experience that this pronunciation is of great convenience for class purposes. This was the pronunciation given them in early Latin, and they were still clearly distinct from the long *ē* in the time of Cicero, though their precise sound then is difficult to determine, and would probably be still more difficult to inculcate in an English school.

Consonants.

c, *g*, *t*, *s* are always hard.

- c* (cepi, accepi), as *c* in *cat*, not as *c* in *acid* or *accept*.
- g* (gero, agger), as *g* in *get*, not as *g* in *gibe* or *exaggerate*.
- t* (fortis, fortia), both as *t* in *native*, *fortia* not as *potential*.
- s* (sub, rosa, res), as *s* in *sit*, or *ce* in *race*, *n* as *s* in *rose* or *raise*.

i and u consonantal.

(j), e.g. *jacio*, as *y* in *you*, not as *j* in *Jack*.

u (v), e.g. *volo*, practically as *w* in *we* (Fr. *ou* in *oui*), not as *v* in *very*.

r is always trilled, even in the middle and at the end of words.

varus ; *parma*, *datur* (not pronounced as Eng. *palmer*, *hatter*).

Double consonants as in *vac-ca*, *Metel-lus* to be pronounced as in Italian.

PREAMBLE TO THE REPORT OF THE PRONUNCIATION COMMITTEE

In drawing up the Scheme of Latin and Greek Pronunciation the Committee have been in general guided by the following considerations :—

1. Both the discussion of the question at the meeting of the Classical Association, and the evidence before the Committee of the practice of different schools and Universities,

The basis of a uniform scheme. seemed to show that there was little hope of general agreement upon a uniform scheme if its

basis were sought in any one of the varieties of what has been known as “the English pronunciation.” It appeared, therefore, at the outset, apart from the practical and theoretical drawbacks involved in this usage, that the Committee could not discharge the duty entrusted to it without seeking some other system. And since the old basis of English custom has thus admittedly broken down, the only other starting-point which seemed natural or expedient was the ancient pronunciation of the Romans and Athenians themselves.

2. In any attempt to frame a method for general use there are two conditions whose fulfilment appeared to the Committee to be equally desirable.

(a) On the one hand, the scheme proposed should present, *Conditions of a satisfactory reform: accuracy and ease of acquirement.* if our knowledge can secure it, at least a reasonable approximation to the sounds which actually existed in ancient times ; and on the other, it should avoid placing any unnecessary difficulty in the way of beginners in Latin or Greek.

The progress of philological research has made it possible to meet the first requirement. We can in the main reproduce

Accuracy. with certainty the sounds actually heard at Athens in the fourth century B.C. and at Rome in the first. The margin of doubt that remains, though from the scientific point of view it is considerable, is nevertheless, when seen from the standpoint of the practical teacher, confined within very narrow limits.

For example: some scholars may feel a doubt whether Latin *i* more nearly resembled French *i* in *livre* (= Eng. *ee* in *queen*) or Italian (open) *i* in *civiltà* (= Scotch *i* in *pity*, sometimes represented by English writer as *ee*, "peety"); but that it was immeasurably nearer to Eng. *ee* than to the English (really diphthongal) *i* in *line*, *tide*, etc., is clearly demonstrable and universally admitted.

(b) In the second place, after careful discussion, and, in the case of Latin, the experience of some thirty years, the Committee
Ease of
acquisition. feel that the scheme proposed offers no difficulty that can reasonably be called serious; certainly none so baffling as the confusions of the "English" method. In the oral work of a class, in particular, it has been found that the adoption of the ancient pronunciation meant a great economy of labour.

3. The chief faults¹ of the method which it is now proposed to banish may be stated as follows:—

(1) Like other methods which prevail locally in various parts of Europe, the "English" fashion chiefly finds acceptance from the immediate convenience of giving to the symbols of the Roman alphabet, and the corresponding symbols of the Greek, the sound which they most
Defects of the
local "Eng-
lish" system. commonly denote when used to write English.

But even this convenience is delusive, since the pronunciation of English varies greatly in different parts of the kingdom, and, as will be seen, where the standard or London pronunciation is most carefully inculcated, there the result is, in fact, in some respects furthest from the true Latin sounds. A Scotch or Yorkshire lad will pronounce Latin *u* much more correctly,

¹ This paragraph is adapted by permission from the Introduction to Messrs. Arnold and Conway's *Restored Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (1895).

and distinguish it far more clearly from Latin *a*, if left to his own instincts than if trained by a cultured teacher who adopts the unreformed method.

(2) It altogether disregards historical accuracy, and accustoms the learner to fancy that languages exist as written rather than as spoken: for he is put to no trouble to discover the true sounds of the language he is studying. It is to him in a very real sense a "dead" language: he ceases or never begins to realise that by its help men and women lived, felt, and thought; and is directly encouraged in a mistake which defeats the very purpose of his education, the mistake of regarding books as something remote from life rather than as an integral part of the life of mankind, and therefore of that for which he himself is preparing.

But the local "English" method of pronouncing Latin and Greek must be condemned also on the following more definite grounds, which involve consequences smaller in themselves but obviously and immediately mischievous:—

(3) It confuses distinct sounds, and hence distinct words: e.g. *ceu* and *seu*; *caedit*, *cedit*, and *sedit*; *caesae*, *caecae*, and *esse*; *noacet*, *noeset*, and *nocet*; *Lucio*, *luceo*, and *luteo* (to say nothing of *so-lutio*); *καῖραι* and *χαῖραι*; *καὶρῆ*, *καίρῳ*, and *κῆρῳ* are pronounced alike.

(4) It obscures quantity: *mensis* (abl. plur.) is pronounced as *mensis* (gen. sing.), and very often *mensea* (nom. sing.) just as *mensea* (abl. sing.); *malum* (evil) and *malum* (apple) are made alike, and so *venit* (present tense) and *venit* (perfect). The same confusion occurs in the case of Greek, though not to the same extent.

These two defects largely conceal from the student the musical and rhythmical beauties of the two languages.

(5) The learner acquires by ear at the very beginning false views as to the relations of languages, and, in particular, fails to recognise the natural tie between Latin and the Romance languages. Latin *a*, instead of being pronounced as French *a*, is made to sound like French *ai*, that happening to be the common value of English *a*. In this way the interesting and, to a boy's mind, stimulating consciousness of the connexion between language and history is, for the time, at least, obscured.

4. The Committee think the present a suitable opportunity

to raise the question whether the vowel-sounds peculiar to modern English should be allowed to remain in the teaching of Greek any longer than in Latin. For if the vowels and consonants can be correctly pronounced in Vergil's *cratera*, they can in *κράτηρ*; if in *heros*, then in *ἥρως*; if in *musa*, then in *μοῦσα*. It is true, no doubt, that to give to the Greek accents their real musical value is too difficult an art for the average schoolboy; and the Committee feel little hesitation in leaving the question on one side. But in this and some other matters mentioned below in the Greek scheme, there seems no reason why what is both true and, in practice, important, should be rejected because in other things of less practical importance either the truth or its application to practice is difficult to reach. Most of the pronunciations which are included in the Committee's proposed scheme in Greek, especially those of the vowels and diphthongs, have been long in use in more than one Scotch university, and as Professor Goodwin records (in the Preface to the seventh edition of his Greek Grammar) are adopted with something like uniformity in America.

5. It may perhaps be felt that the effort needed to introduce the method here advocated into schools and Universities where the "English" method is still current is in itself an embarrassment. But this difficulty is steadily decreasing. The Cambridge Philological Society's pamphlet, which as long ago as 1879 urged the reform of Latin pronunciation, has had a wide influence; the University of Wales has adopted a restored pronunciation of both Greek and Latin, and accepted it in Latin of all candidates for its Matriculation, for the last ten years; and recently the Association of Assistant Masters has by resolution advocated the same reform. The Committee venture to hope that all friends of classical studies will loyally support the Classical Association in its attempt to free the study of Greek and Latin from the entanglements of an irrational, though time-honoured, usage, which have at length become a serious burden.

*The reforms
proposed in
Greek.*

*Difficulty of
the transition.*

THE RESTORED PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN

(Classical Association Scheme)

A. PRIMARY POINTS

The following points are those which it is a matter of practical importance to impress upon students of Latin from the outset.

Quantity.

In pronunciation the quantities of the vowels must be strictly observed: e.g. *lābor*, not as English *lābel*; *mīnor*, not as English *mīnor*; *nōta*, not as English *nōte*. This is essential for the proper appreciation, in prose, of sound, rhythm, and distinctions of meaning (e.g. *lābor*, *lābor*); and in verse, of metre also.

Vowels.

The following is approximately the pronunciation of the vowels:—

- ā (prātum), as *a* in *fāther*, not as *a* in *māte*.
- ă (răpit), the same sound shortened, as *a* in *ăha*.
- ē (mēta), as *e* in *māte* (Fr. *é* as in *blé*), not as *ee* in *mēēt*.
- ĕ (frĕta), as *e* in *frĕt*, not as *ee* in *mēēt*.
- ī (fīdo), as *ee* in *fēēd* (Fr. *te* in *amie*), not as *i* in *fine*.
- î (plīco), as *i* in *fīt*, not as *i* in *fine*.
- ō (nōtus), as *o* in *nōte* (or nearer Italian *o* in *Roma*).
- ô (nōta), as *o* in *nôt* (Fr. *o* in *botte*), not as *o* in *nōte*.
- ū (tātō), as *oo* in *shoot* (Ital. *u* in *lūna*), not as *u* (yew) in *acūte*.
- û (cūtis), as *u* in *full*, not as *u* in *acūrate*, nor as *u* in *shūn*.

In all cases the vowels are nearer to the Continental than to the English sounds.

Diphthongs.

The sounds of the diphthongs may be arrived at by running the two component vowel-sounds rapidly together, the second being pronounced lightly. The most important are:—

- ae (portae) = $\overset{\curvearrowright}{a+e}$, nearly as *ai* in *Isaiah* (broadly pronounced),
Fr. *émaîl*, not as *a* in *late*,
- au (aurum) = $\overset{\curvearrowright}{a+u}$, as *ou* in *hour* (as Ital. *au* in *fiasto*), not as
aw in *awful*.
- oe (poena) = $\overset{\curvearrowright}{o+e}$, nearly as *oi* in *boil*, not as *ee* in *feet*, nor as
a in *late*.

N.B.—In recommending these sounds for *ae* and *oe*, the

Committee is guided mainly by practical considerations, since it has been found by experience that this pronunciation is of great convenience for class purposes. The Committee regards it as clear that this was the pronunciation given them in early Latin, and that they were still clearly distinct from the long *ē* in the time of Cicero, though their precise sound then is difficult to determine, and would probably be still more difficult to inculcate in an English school.

Consonants.

c, g, t, s are always hard, and never vary in pronunciation.

c (*cepi, accipi*), as *c* in *cat*, not as *c* in *acid* or *accept*.

g (*gero, agger*), as *g* in *get*, not as *g* in *gibe* or *exaggerate*.

t (*fortis, fortia*), both as *t* in *native*, *fortia* not as *potential*.

s (*sub, rosa, res*), as *s* in *sit*, or *ce* in *race*, not as *s* in *rose* or *raise*.

Similarly when compounded—

x (*exul*) = *ks*, as in *extract*, not *gx*.

bs (*urbs*) = *ps*, not *bx*.

They are hard even before *i*.

c (*facio*), as *c* in *cat*, not as *s*, nor as *sh*: e.g. *condicio* = *conditio* not *condisio*, nor *condishio*.

g (*tangit*), as *g* in *get*, not as *g* in *gibe*.

t (*fortia, ratio*), as *t* in *native*, not as *t* in *nation*.

s (*sponsio*), as *s* in *sponsor*, not as *s* in *responsions* or *conclusions*.

i and u consonantal.

i (*j*), e.g. *jacio*, as *y* in *you*, not as *j* in *Jack*.

u (*v*), e.g. *volo*, practically as *w* in *we* (Fr. *oui* in *oui*), not as *v* in *very*.

r is always trilled, even in the middle and at the end of words.

rarus; *parma, datur* (not pronounced as Eng. *palmer, hatter*).

Double consonants are separately pronounced as in Italian, one in one syllable, the other in the other: e.g. *vac-ca, pul-lus*.

B. SECONDARY POINTS

Diphthongs.

Rare { *ui* (*huic*) = *u+i*, as Fr. *lui*.
eu (*heu*) = *e+u*, nearly as English *ew* in *new*.
ei (*ei*, interj., or *Pompēi*, voc. of *Pompeius*) = *e+i*, as *ey* in *grey*,
 not as *i* in *dine*.

Accent.

If the penultimate syllable is long, it has the accent; if the penultimate syllable is short, the antepenultimate has the accent—
e.g. *negáret*, *agréstibus*.

The accented syllable was pronounced with greater force as well as on a higher note; but the differentiation in force was considerably less than in English. The separate syllables of a Latin word should be more evenly and distinctly pronounced than in English, and more nearly as in French.

C. ADDITIONAL POINTS

A (and afterwards B) should be mastered by the pupil.

There are other points which should always be observed by the teacher. These are set forth in—

- (i) PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN IN THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD.
Cambridge Philological Society. Deighton, Bell & Co., Cambridge. (3d.)
- (ii) THE RESTORED PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK AND LATIN.
Arnold and Conway. Cambridge Univ. Press. (1s.)

GREEK PRONUNCIATION

(*Classical Association Scheme*)

A. PRIMARY POINTS

Quantity.

As in Latin, the quantities of the vowels should be strictly observed. For example, the short vowels in *πατήρ*, *τίνα*, *χόρος*, *ἵδωρ*, should be carefully distinguished from the long vowels in *φῶτερία*, *κῆνῶ*, *χώρα*, *ὑμεῖς*.

Vowels.

ā and ǣ, ī and ĭ, ē and e (the last two being always short) may be pronounced as the corresponding vowels in Latin.

ɐ (long open e) as *è* in Fr. *il mène*

(nearer Eng. *ea* in *bear* than *ey* in *grey*).

œ (long open o) as *o* in Fr. *encore*

(nearer Eng. *oa* in *broad* than Eng. *o* in *bone*).

υ as Fr. *ū* in *du pain*.

ȳ as Fr. *ū* in *la vue* or Germ. *ū* in *grün*,

Diphthongs.

$\alpha = a + i$ as Eng. *ai* in *Isaiah*.

$\alpha = o + i$ as Eng. *oi* in *oil*.

$\upsilon = u + i$ as Fr. *ui* in *lui*.

In φ η φ the first vowel was long, and the second only faintly heard.

ϵi . The precise sound of ϵi is difficult to determine, but in Attic Greek it was never confused with η till a late period, and to maintain the distinction clearly it is perhaps necessary to allow English students to pronounce it as Eng. *eye*, recommending them, however, to form the first vowel as near the front of the mouth as possible. In fact, it must have been nearer to Fr. *é* in *passé*.

$\alpha \upsilon = a +$ (primitive Greek and) Lat. u , as Eng. *ow* in *gown*, Germ. au in *Haus*.

$\epsilon \upsilon = \epsilon +$ Lat. u , nearly as Eng. *ew* in *few*.

ou as Eng. *oo* in *moon*, Fr. *ou* in *route*.

Consonants.

π , β , τ , δ , κ , and γ as p , b , t , d , c or k , and g respectively in Lat.; except that γ before γ , κ , and χ is used to denote the nasal sound heard in Eng. *ankle*, *anger*.

ρ , λ , μ , ν as Lat. r , l , m , n .

σ , s always as Lat. s (Eng. s in *mouse*), except before β and μ , where the sound was as in Eng. *rosebush*, *rosemary*.

The Committee do not see their way to suggest any alteration in the current pronunciation of the aspirates.

APPENDIX

MEMORIAL ON THE TEACHING OF GREEK SENT TO THE HEAD MASTERS' CONFERENCE AND TO THE HEAD MASTERS' AND ASSISTANT MASTERS' ASSOCIATIONS.

IN accordance with a resolution adopted at the General Meeting of the Classical Association held on October 13th, 1906, in Manchester, I beg to call your attention to the following resolution, which was passed almost unanimously at a General Meeting of the Classical Association held in London on January 6th, 1906 :—

“That in the lower and middle forms of boys' public schools Greek should be taught only with a view to the intelligent reading of Greek authors.”

There must be many head masters who, while anxious to maintain the traditions of a classical education unimpaired, recognise the dangers that beset it owing to the conflicting claims of other interests and subjects, and who would therefore be willing to consider proposals which would make it easier to reconcile these claims with the essential requirements of a classical education. We therefore very respectfully submit the above resolution to your earnest consideration, and append a few words of comment thereon.

The resolution does not touch the traditional method

of teaching Latin. Studied on strictly grammatical lines, and combined with early training in English, Latin provides a sufficient discipline for certain faculties of the mind, and it seems unnecessary from the point of view of mental gymnastics to duplicate this training by a similar method of teaching another classical language. In former days, when there were fewer claims on the time available, it may have been a sound policy to enforce the disciplinary teaching of Greek accidence, syntax, and composition side by side with the disciplinary teaching of Latin; but this system devoted so much time and energy to the mere mechanism of language, that the majority of pupils failed to reach the level of literature.

Our hope is that, by lightening the burden of grammar, it may be possible at a comparatively early age to lead boys to appreciate the interest and beauty of the great Greek classics, and that head masters may find it easier to convince boys of average ability, as well as their parents, that Greek is a subject worth studying. Such a method would surely be welcomed by many form masters, who would gladly accept the new obligation of lifting their pupils to see and feel the living grace and strength of the masterpieces of Greek literature.

At the same time, in recommending that Greek should occupy a different position in the scheme of teaching from that occupied by Latin, we are not to be understood to recommend a wholly non-grammatical method of teaching. Our belief is rather in the possibility of simplifying the teaching of both accidence and syntax in such a way as to make it subservient to the practical aim of reading the classics. Steps have already been taken in this direction,

both at home and abroad, and we believe that a larger measure of simplification is quite practicable whereby attention should be directed, in the first instance, only to what is of prime importance for the purposes of reading. Our contention, in fact, is not that Greek grammar should disappear, but that it should be studied from a different point of view and by somewhat different methods. Experience has shown that pupils who approach the study of Greek with a competent knowledge of Latin as a support are able to master the essentials of grammar with rapidity and ease.

It is clear that many of the details of grammar often insisted upon in examination papers would by this method be ignored at an early stage of teaching. On the other hand, pupils educated on this system would not find it difficult at a later stage to fill up any gaps thus left in their knowledge partly on the basis of the conscious and unconscious inductions which they would have formed in the course of their wider reading, partly by reference to a systematic grammar in which details of forms and constructions are enumerated.

It would not be a fair criticism of the method here indicated to say that boys might as well read their Greek classics in an English translation. Who would compare the facility with which a boy's mind slides over the pages of a translation, however graceful and scholarly, with the stimulating tension of mind which may be excited by the effort to understand and appreciate the original Greek? The method which we advocate should issue in the capacity for scholarly and accurate translation on the part of the pupils, and not in a mere general apprehension of the sense.

Greek composition in both prose and verse is much easier

than Latin, and will present but moderate difficulty to those who have read a good deal of Greek.

In conclusion, we call attention to the fact that the Board of Examinations of the University of Cambridge, in response to a petition of the Classical Association that the separate Greek grammar paper in the Previous Examination should be abolished, has recommended :—

“(a) That the separate paper at present set on Greek and Latin grammar be discontinued in Part I. of the Previous Examination ; (b) that the time allowed for the two papers on Greek and Latin classics be increased from $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours to 3 hours in order that more questions in grammar may be set than at present, the questions in grammar to be such as arise from, or are suggested by, the passages given for translation ; (c) that the papers set on the alternatives to the Greek and Latin classics be similarly lengthened with the same object ; and (d) that these changes shall first take effect at the examination to be held in October 1907 ” (*The Times*, November 28th, 1906).

Signed on behalf of the Classical Association,

S. H. BUTCHER, *President*.

Jan. 1st, 1907.

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RULES

*Adopted at the first General Meeting of the Association, May 28th, 1904;
Amended at the General Meeting, January 5th, 1906.*

1. The name of the Association shall be "THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION."

2. The objects of the Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and, in particular :—

- (a) To impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education;
- (b) To improve the practice of classical teaching by free discussion of its scope and methods;
- (c) To encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries;
- (d) To create opportunities for friendly intercourse and co-operation among all lovers of classical learning in this country.

3. The Association shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, a Council of fifteen members besides the Officers, and ordinary Members. The officers of the Association shall be members thereof, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

4. The Council shall be entrusted with the general administration of the affairs of the Association, and, subject to any special direction of a General Meeting, shall have control of the funds of the Association.

5. The Council shall meet as often as it may deem necessary, upon due notice issued by the Secretaries to each member, and at every meeting of the Council five shall form a quorum.

6. It shall be within the competence of the Council to make rules for its own procedure, provided always that questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes, the Chairman to have a casting vote.

7. The General Meeting of the Association shall be held annually in some city or town of England or Wales which is the seat of a University, the place to be selected at the previous General Meeting.

8. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected at the General Meeting, but vacancies occurring in the course of the year may be filled up temporarily by the Council.

9. The President shall be elected for one year, and shall not be eligible for re-election until after the lapse of five years.

10. The Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, and the Secretaries shall be elected for one year, but shall be eligible for re-election.

11. Members of the Council shall be elected for three years, and on retirement shall not be eligible for re-election until after the lapse of one year. For the purpose of establishing a rotation the Council shall, notwithstanding, provide that one-third of its original members shall retire in the year 1905, and one-third in 1906.

12. The Election of the Officers and Council at the General Meeting shall be by a majority of the votes of those present, the Chairman to have a casting vote.

13. The list of *agenda* at the General Meeting shall be prepared by the Council, and no motion shall be made or paper read at such meeting unless notice thereof has been given to one of the Secretaries at least three weeks before the date of such meeting.

14. Membership of the Association shall be open to all persons of either sex who are in sympathy with its objects.

15. Ordinary members shall be elected by the Council.

16. There shall be an entrance fee of 5s. The annual subscription shall be 5s., payable and due on the 1st of January in each year.

17. Members who have paid the entrance fee of 5s. may compound for all future subscriptions by the payment in a single sum of fifteen annual subscriptions.

18. The Council shall have power to remove by vote any member's name from the list of the Association.

19. Alterations in the Rules of the Association shall be made by vote at a General Meeting, upon notice given by a Secretary to each member at least a fortnight before the date of such meeting.

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF MEMBERS

February, 1907

. *This list is compiled from information furnished by Members of the Association, and Members are requested to be so kind as to send immediate notice of any CHANGE in their addresses to Prof. W. C. F. WALTERS, 3, Douglas House, Maida Hill West, London, W., with a view to corrections in the next published List. The Members to whose names an asterisk is prefixed are Life Members.*

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 Westaway, F. W.
Woburn Sands . Whibley, C.

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 Tatham, M. T.
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Wellington Coll. . Upcott, E. A.
Wokingham . . . Ledgard, W. H.
 Mansfield, E. D.
 Warre, Rev. E.

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 Booker, R. P. L.
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 Brinton, H.
 Broadbent, H.

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 Luxmoore, H. E.
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 Macnaghten, H.
 Radcliffe, Rev. R. C.
 *Ramsay, A. B.
 Rawlins, F. H.
 Slater, E. V.
 Stone, E. W.
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 * Rackham, H.
 Skeat, Rev. Prof. W. W.

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Hogg, Prof. H. W.
Hopkinson, Alfred.
Hopkinson, J. H.
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(Bishop of Manchester).
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Love, Miss J.
MacInnes, J.
Marett, Miss J. M.
Massey, Mrs.
Montague, C. E.
Montague, Mrs.
Moulton, Rev. J. H.
Norwood, G.
Paton, J. L.
Peake, Prof. A. S.
Roby, A. G. and Mrs.
Sadler, Prof. M. E.
Scott, Dr. John.
Sharp, Rev. D. S.
Sidebotham, H.
Simon, Mrs. H.

LANCASHIRE—continued

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(continued) Spencer, C. E. G.
Strachan, Prof. J.
Sutton, E.
Warburton, F.
Warman, A. S.
Waterlow, S.
Welldon, Rt. Rev.
Bishop J. E. C.
Williamson, H.
Worrall, Mrs. Janet.
Newton Heath . . . Horsfall, A.
Oldham . . . Gregory, Miss A. M.
Rossall School . . . Furneaux, L. B.
Nicklin, Rev. T.
Taylor, G. M.
Tyler, C. H.
Way, Rev. J. P.
Salford . . . Casartelli, Rt. Rev. L.
C. (Bishop of Salford).
Hicks, Canon E. L.
Stonyhurst . . . Browne, Rev. J.
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Donovan, Rev. J.
May, T.
Plater, Rev. C. D.
Wigan . . . Eckersley, J. C.

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Rudd, G. E.
Russell, B. W. N.
Sloane, Miss E. J.
Went, Rev. J.
Market Harborough . . . Hammond, F.
Oadby . . . Billson, C. J.

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Horncastle . . . Walter, Rev. J. Conway.
Lincoln . . . Fox, F. W.
Wickham, Dean.
Louth . . . Worrall, A. H.
Stamford . . . Priestly, Miss E.

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Spilsbury, A. J.

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 Giveen, R. L.
Colfe Gr. Sch. . . . Bell, W. S.
 Lucas, J. W.
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Dulwich H. S. . . . Silcox, Miss L.
Goldsmiths' Ins. . . . Loring, W.
 Redmayne, J. F. S.
Hampstead . . . Linnell, Miss (Private
 School).
 Marshall, Rev. and
 Mrs. D. H. (The
 Hall).
Highgate Gr. S. . . . Lamb, J. G.
James Alleyne's
School Coulter, Miss.
Kenmore Sch. . . . Hawkins, C. V.
Kenington Park
High School . . . Heppel, Miss E. A.
King's College . . . Headlam, Rev. Dr.
 A. C.
 Legg, Rev. S. C. S.
 *Walters, Prof. W. C. F.
 Coll. Sch. . . . Hales, J. F.
 Smith, Douglas.
 Wotherspoon, G.
Merchant
Taylor's Sch. . . . Atkey, F. A. H.
 Bamfylde, F. G.
 *Morley, A. M.
 Nairn, Rev. J. A.
 Stobart, J. C.
 Wells, G. H.
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N. London Col-
legiate Sch. . . . Armstead, Miss H.
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Notting Hill
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Queen Elizabeth
School Bennett, Miss M. A.
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School Rushbrooke, W. G.
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St. Paul's Girls'
School Gray, Miss F.
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St. Paul's Sch. . . . Botting, C. G.
 Cholmeley, R. F.
 Coles, P. B.
 Gould, T. W.

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 Loane, G. G.
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 Pendlebury, C.
 Phillips, J. L.
 Wilson, T. I. W.
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Stationers' Sch. . . . Chettle, H.
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 Rapson, Prof. E. J.
Univ. Coll. Sch. . . . Carpenter, R. S.
 Felkin, F. W.
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 Richardson, Miss A. W.
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 Smedley, J. F.
 Tanner, R.

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 Bailey, J. C.
 Baker-Penoyre, J. ff.
 Balcarres, Lord.
 Balfour, Rt. Hon.
 Gerald.
 Barker, Miss E. Ross.
 Barnett, P. A.
 Baxter, Miss B. F. N.
 Beeching, Canon H.
 Bell, E.
 Bell, Rev. Canon G. C.
 Bennett, Mrs. A. H.
 Benson, R. H.
 Bonser, Right Hon.
 Sir J. W.
 Bradley, Prof. A. C.
 Bridge, Admiral Sir C.
 Brigstocke, W. O.
 Burne-Jones, Sir P.
 Butcher, J. G.
 Butcher, S. H.
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 Campagnac, E. T.
 Chambers, E. J.
 Chapman, John.
 Cohen, H.
 Cohen, Miss H. F.

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 Crawley, J. A.
 Curzon, Rt. Hon. Lord.
 Dill, R. T. Colquhoun.
 Duckworth, Canon R.
 Ernst-Browning,
 Judge W.
 Esdale, A. J. K.
 Eve, H. W.
 Farwell, Mr. Justice.
 Finlay, Sir R. B.
 Furness, Miss S. M. M.
 Gaselee, Miss E. S.
 Geikie, Sir Archibald.
 Gibson, G.
 Giles, L.
 Gilson, J. P.
 Grigg, E. W. M.
 Gurney, Miss A.
 Gurney, Miss M.
 Hales, Prof. J. W.
 Halsbury, Earl of.
 Harper, Miss B.
 Haydon, J. H.
 Haynes, E. S. P.
 Headlam, J. W.
 Heath, H. F.
 Hetherington, J. N.
 Hicks, Miss A. M.
 Hildesheimer, A.
 Hill, G. F.
 Hodd, Miss M.
 Hodgson, S. H.
 Horton-Smith, L.
 Hügel, Baron F. von.
 Hutton, Miss C. A.
 Hutton, Miss E. P. S.
 Johnson, G. W.
 Kennedy, Hon. Sir
 W. R.
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 Langridge, A.
 Lattimer, R. B.
 Leader, Miss E.
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 Lee, Sidney.
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 Linnell, Miss B. M. B.

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 MacNaghten, Rt. Hon.
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 Marshall, F. H.
 Mason, Miss L. G.
 Matthaei, Miss L. E.
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 Menzies, Mr. G. K.
 and Mrs.
 Merrick, Rev. G. P.
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 count.
 Minturn, Miss E. T.
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 K.
 Mumm, A. L.
 Murray, John.
 Newbolt, H. J.
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 Paul, Miss A. S.
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 Pollock, Sir F.
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 Richmond, B. L.
 Richmond, O. L.
 Richmond, Sir W. B.
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 . . . Thomas, F. W.
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 . . . Maunde.
 . . . Thompson, F. E.
 . . . Traves, F. E. A.
 . . . Vaisey, H. B.
 . . . Varley, R. S.
 . . . Vincent, William.
 . . . Walters, H. B.
 . . . Warner, G. F.
 . . . Watson, A. R.
 . . . Watson, Miss J.
 . . . White-Thomson, B.
 . . . W.
 . . . Whittle, J. L.
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 . . . Willis, J. A.
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 . . . Hallam, G. H.
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Harrow . . . Hopkins, G. B. Innes.
 . . . Kenyon, F. G.
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Downham
Market . . . Bagge, Miss L. M.
Holt . . . Clarke, Rev. E. W.

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 . . . Russell, J.

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Thames . . . Gwilliam, Rev. G. H.

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 . . . Pickard-Cambridge,
 . . . A. W.
 . . . Strachan - Davidson,
 . . . J. L.

Brasenose Coll. . . . Bussell, Rev. F. W.

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 . . . Bell, G. K. A.
 . . . Blagden, Rev. C. M.
 . . . Greene, W. A.
 . . . Haverfield, F. J.
 . . . Myres, J. L.
 . . . Owen, S. G.
 . . . Stawart, Prof. J. A.
 . . . Strong, The Very Rev.
 . . . T. B.
 . . . Warner, Rev. W.

Corpus Christi

College . . . Livingston, R. W.
 . . . Shields, C.
 . . . Sidgwick, A.

Exeter College . . . *Blunt, Rev. A. W. F.

. . . Farnell, L. R.
 . . . Henderson, B. W.
 . . . Mavrogordato, J. N.

Hertford Coll. . . . *Burroughs, E. A.
 . . . Williams, Rev. H. H.

Jesus College . . . *Genner, E. E.

. . . Hughes, Rev. W. H.

Kable College . . . Lock, Rev. W.

Lady Margaret

Hall . . . Argles, Miss E. M.
 . . . Clay, Miss A. M.
 . . . Wordsworth, Miss E.

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. . . Gardner, Prof. P.
 . . . Merry, Rev. W. W.

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Brightman, Rev. F. E.
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Cowley, A.
Daynes, J. N.
Fletcher, C. R. L.
Fotheringham, J. K.
Godley, A. D.
Greene, H. W.
Warren, T. H.
Webb, C. C. J.
Wilson, Rev. H. A.
- Mansfield Coll.* . Fairbairn, Rev. A. M.
- Merton College* . Garrod, H. W.
How, W. W.
Miles, J. C.
- New College* . . Brown, A. C. B.
*Butler, H. E.
Joseph, H. W. B.
Matheson, P. E.
Murray, G. G. A.
Prickard, A. O.
Spoonner, Rev. W. A.
Turner, Prof. H. H.
Wilson, Prof. J. Cook.
Zimmern, A. E.
- Oriel College* . Phelps, Rev. L. R.
Richards, Rev. G.
Shadwell, C. L.
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Grenfell, B. P.
Hunt, A. S.
Magrath, Rev. J. B.
Walker, Rev. E. M.
- St. John's Coll.* . Ball, S.
Corley, F. E.
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Powell, J. U.
Snow, T. C.
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Prichard, H. A.
- University Coll.* Farquharson, A. S. L.
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Wright.
Richards, H.
Webster, E. W.
Wells, J.
- Worcester Coll.* . Gerrans, H. T.
Hadow, W. H.
Lys, Rev. F. J.
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Chavasse, A. S.

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(continued) Cowell, W. H. A.
Dyer, L.
Elliott, R. T.
Evans, H. A.
Goodwin, Miss N. M.
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Harvey, Rev. H. A.
Hodge, Miss D. M. V.
Jerram, C. S.
Keatinge, M. W.
Lewis, Miss E.
Moor, Miss M. F.
Pope, Mrs.
Pope, G. H.
Rhys, Miss M.
*Rogers, Miss A. M. A.
Schomberg, Miss T.
Scott, G. R.
Sing, J. M.
Whitwell, R. J.
Worley, Miss M. L.
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Pickering, T. E.

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Martin, A. T.
Richards, F.
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- Milverton* . . Milla, Miss B. T.
- Wells* Jex-Blake, The Very Rev. T. W.
- Weston-super-Mare* . . Battiscombe, E. M.
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Ipswich . . . Elliston, W. R.
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Lowestoft . . . Phillips, Rev. W. Rich-
mond.
Southwold . . . Fleming, Miss A.

SURREY—

Camberley . . . Tait, Rev. G. A.
Caterham . . . Watkins, Rev. P. M.
Charterhouse
School . . . Bryant, Rev. E. E.
Kendall, G.
Longworth, F. D.
Page, T. E.
Rendall, Rev. G. H.
Romanis, Rev. W. F. J.

Cheam School . . . Tabor, A. S.
Claygate . . . Armitage, N. C.
Cranleigh Sch. . . . Allen, Rev. G. C.
Antrobus, G. L. N.
Croydon . . . Davis, Miss E. J.
Layman, Miss A. M.
Englefield Green . . . Donkin, Prof. E. H.
Taylor, Miss M. E. J.

Epsom . . . Fry, Miss E. B.
Gardiner, E. N.
Esher . . . Kelaart, W. H.
Guildford . . . Lea, Rev. E. T.
Rawnsley, W. F.
Haslemere . . . Dakyns, H. G.
Rhodes, James.
Kew . . . Bernays, A. E.
Kingston Hill . . . Mayor, Rev. J. B.
Leatherhead . . . Purton, G. A.
Limpfield . . . Jackson, C.
Oxted . . . Hardcastle, H.
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Streatham . . . Brough, Miss L.
Surbiton . . . Millard, V. C. H.
Worters, Miss E. B.
Zimmern, Miss D. M.

Tadworth . . . Elliman, G. D.
Warlingham . . . Pearson, A. C.
Weybridge . . . Dawes, Miss E. A. S.
Dawes, Rev. J. S.
Dawes, Miss M. C.
Wimbledon . . . Hales, J. F.
Woking . . . Smith, Canon I.
Gregory.

SUSSEX—

Arundel . . . Balfour, R.

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Thomas, A. H.
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Thomson, H. R.
Williams, Rev. F. S.
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Hove . . . Carson, H. J.
Davies, Miss C. H.
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Lewes . . . Richards, Rev. J. F.
Rutherford, Rev. W. G.
Midhurst . . . Howard, G. A. S.
St. Leonard's . . . Soulby, T. H.
Shoreham . . . Tower, B. H.
Udimore . . . Nowers, G. P.
West Horsham . . . Branfoot, Rev. W. H.
Dickin, H. B.
Moore, E. W.
Upcott, Rev. A. W.
Winbolt, S. E.
Worthing . . . Johnson, Rev. G. H.

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Burrows, Rev. W. O.
Caspari, M. O. B.
Chambers, C. D.
Chapman, Rev. Dom.
Collins, Prof. J. Chur-
ton.
Dunstall, Miss M. C.
Ferard, R. H.
Gilson, R. C.
Gore, Rt. Rev. C.
(Bishop of Birming-
ham).
Harris, J. Rendel.
Heath, C. H.
Hobhouse, Rev. Canon.
Measures, A. E.
McCrae, Miss G. J.
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Norris, Rev. John.
Parkinson, Rt. Rev
Monsignor.
Quelch, Miss K.

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 E. A.
 Vince, C. A.
 Vincent, H. A.

Honley-in-

Arden . . . Nelson, O. T. P.
Leamington . . . Beaven, Rev. A. B.
 Brooke, W. P.

Rugby . . . Turner, Miss E.
 Chamberlain, Miss D.
 Cole, E. L. D.
 Michell, W. G.
 Payne - Smith, Rev.
 W. H.

Stratford-on-

Avon . . . Beckwith, E. G. A.
Warwick . . . Davies, Robert.
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 James, Rev. S. R.
Shipston-on-
Stour . . . Wyse, W.
Stourport . . . Baldwin, S.
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 Ottley, Miss.
 Wilson, Rev. J. B.
 Wilson, Rev. Canon.

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 *Lewis, L. W. P.
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 Smyth, C.
Burnley . . . Taplen, Miss.

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 Tunnicliffe, Miss A. C.

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 Evans, S. E.
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 Vaughan, W. W.

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 Reith, A. W.

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 Ward, C. H.

Hull . . . Goss, W. N.
 Saunders, J. V.

Ilkley . . . Atkinson, C. W.

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 Bodington, N.
 Clark, E. K.
 Connal, B. M.
 Gillespie, C. M.
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 Greenwood, L. H. G.
 Hickey, Rev. J.
 Lidderdale, E. W.
 Lowe, Miss L. A.
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 Price, A. C.

*Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys.
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 Teale, T. Pridgin.
 Wilson, R.
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 J. R.

Malton . . . Young, R. F.
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Richmond . . . Furness, J. M.
 Taylor, Rev. C. B.
 Wood, Rev. B. Gifford.

Robin Hood

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 Ellis, Mrs.
 Escott, Miss A. E.
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 Marsh, E. A. J.
 Musson, Miss C. J.
 Newman, Miss M. L.

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(continued) (Bishop of Sheffield).
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Wakefield . . . Abel, H. G.
Eden, Rt. Rev. G. R.
(Lord Bishop of
Wakefield).
Houghton, A. V.
Peacock, M. H.
York . . . Neild, Miss H. T.
Squire, S. G.

CHANNEL ISLANDS

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ISLE OF MAN

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WALES

BRECON—

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PROCEEDINGS

1907

(VOLUME V)

WITH RULES AND
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FIFTH GENERAL MEETING, CAMBRIDGE, 1907

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18TH.

At 2.30 p.m. the President (Mr. S. H. BUTCHER, M.P.) took the chair, and called on Professor R. S. CONWAY to move the adoption of the Report of the Committee on the Pronunciation of Greek.¹

Professor CONWAY began by expressing the feelings of the old students of Cambridge who were met under the shelter of their old University to discuss the studies which they loved. He proceeded :

“The subject which I am to bring before you on behalf of the Committee is not unimportant in the present position of classical studies. Teachers of Classics are now subject to much fiercer competition than ever before, and it behoves us to lay aside every weight of prejudice and the effect of custom which doth so easily beset us. This Association has already done a great service to Classics by the resolution passed last year in favour of the restored pronunciation of Latin ; and the Committee felt bound, in logical sequence and in common sense, to proceed at once to the question of Greek. It has done so, and the result is the present scheme, which is put forward, not as complete or final, but as approximate and practicable. If it errs, it errs on the side of moderation. As a member of the Council said to me, there is not enough in these proposals to frighten a mouse. If any one here is frightened, let him consider exactly what it is that he fears.

“What is to be said for the present practice ? Why should

¹ The Report is printed on p. 95.

you teach a boy to pronounce a Latin word right—say *mūsa*—and then, when he begins Greek, suddenly ask him to pronounce it like the English *mouser*? Why should he pronounce the same word one way in Virgil and another in Homer? Such a contradiction must puzzle the most intelligent schoolboy; such inconsistency must defeat itself.

“A child who has been pronouncing Latin correctly for three or four years will need next to no instruction in the correct pronunciation of Greek. For twelve years I have used this new pronunciation of Greek both in teaching Greek and in quoting it in Latin lessons, and I have never failed to make myself understood. Why should boys be in doubt whether *τεῖνω* or *τίνω* is meant, simply because for the last three centuries the influence of the English accent has had a powerful influence to change the vowel sounds? The two words are perfectly easy to distinguish. The Committee do not think it impossible for an English schoolboy to acquire a correct pronunciation even of the open *e*, as in the French word *mère*, still less of the *ω*. But, though possible, it is difficult. In Scotland, indeed, and in some parts of England, the open *e* is common; but elsewhere, notably in London and the south, the open vowels are rare. In view of such local difficulties, a purely voluntary association like ours can only set forth the true sounds, and, if some teachers cannot overcome the force of habit, we must wait till they die out. If a schoolmaster feels that he cannot make use of our information, we only ask that he will let his boys know the facts.

“With regard to *η* and *ει*, we cannot say exactly to what part of the palate the tongue was drawn near in producing *ει*; but we know that the sound was nearer to the diphthong of the French *fée* than to that of the English *eye* (the Welsh *ei* is an intermediate sound). Here then we do the best we can; and for the sake of differences important to maintain, such as that between Indicative and Subjunctive, we do not altogether prohibit the pronunciation of *ει* like the English *eye*.

“Then there is *v* : a difficult sound, perhaps, to introduce ; yet in most schools children now learn to pronounce the French *u* from the age of six, and why should they not make the same sound in Greek later on ? A subsidiary advantage will be that they will no longer be perplexed by the *y* in the Latin forms of Greek words.

“To confirm what I said of the importance of pronunciation, may I, in closing, quote a remark made to me the other day by a business man in Manchester ? He said, ‘I have sent my boy to three schools in succession, and with every change of school he was obliged to change his pronunciation of Latin. Your Association, by settling a uniform pronunciation, removes the reproach that teachers of Latin do not know the subject they profess to teach.’

“One thing is certain, that there will be no peace in the educational world till some reasonable scheme is adopted for a uniform and correct pronunciation of Greek. The Committee has done its best to take practical difficulties into account ; and I appeal to you, on behalf of the Committee, not to put back the clock. Do not say, ‘Last year we corrected our Latin, but we would rather be incorrect in Greek a little longer.’ That is not fair to the children. When they have learned to pronounce Latin correctly, and pass on to a far more beautiful language, whose literature is one of the treasures of the world, surely we must not put a ridiculous hindrance in their way.”

Mr. W. G. RUSHBROOKE, who was called upon to second the motion, wished very heartily to support it on behalf of the schools in which the restored pronunciation was in use. In the four or five years since its adoption at St. Olave’s no difficulty had been found ; the work of the beginners was simplified by it, and the elder boys, as soon as it was introduced to them, had taken it up with enthusiasm.

Professor E. A. SONNENSCHN. — “I am entirely in sympathy with the idea of reform ; but I should like to call attention to the fact that this scheme is put forward for general adoption, and the sounds are set down as ‘approxima-

tions which for teaching purposes may be regarded as practicable.' In the main the Committee has undoubtedly been very successful in reconciling theory with practice; but I do not agree with the sounds recommended for η and ω , scientifically correct as they are. Professor Conway says we have no compulsory powers; true, but we have a very great responsibility—and if we recommend the adoption of sounds which will cause pupils and teachers much labour to acquire, some conscientious persons will try to carry out our recommendations literally, and the question will arise whether the game is worth the candle. In practice I think it sufficient if teachers and pupils use for η and ω the same sounds as we recommended for \bar{e} and \bar{o} in Latin, namely, the close \bar{e} , as in 'prey,' and the close \bar{o} , as in 'note.' The open sounds do not naturally rise to the pupil's lips, except perhaps in reading the line of Kratinos:

ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον "βῆ βῆ" λέγων βαδίζει.

He does not naturally pronounce $\phi\delta\eta$ as *awodä*. Why? Because in most modern European languages the long e and o tend to be close vowels, as the short e and o tend to be open. In Greek, unfortunately, it is the other way about. It is only when η and ω come before ρ that we are by nature disposed to give them the open sounds—*e.g.* in $\eta\rho\omega\varsigma$, $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ (as in 'there' and 'bore'). Further, the recommendation of the Committee involves a different treatment of corresponding letters in Greek and Latin; we should have to pronounce *legō* and *rēs* with the close \bar{o} and \bar{e} , *λέγω* and *ῥῆς* with the open \bar{o} and \bar{e} . In regard to ϵ and o , the Committee does not recommend the scientifically correct sounds, close \bar{e} and close \bar{o} ; and quite rightly, because these sounds are difficult for English lips to produce. The principle that practice has claims as well as science was recognised by our President in introducing the Report on Latin Pronunciation last year; and it is emphatically endorsed by Blass in his book on Greek pronunciation (English translation, p. 27). From this point of view I feel doubtful also about the pronuncia-

tion of ν as the French u , but I shall reserve criticism till η and ω have been considered."

Professor J. W. MACKAIL.—"I think that if the report of the Committee is accepted as amended in this particular, we shall be in a better position towards a real and practical reform. In point of fact, the arguments for the amendment seem to me to have been put very clearly and decisively by Professor Conway. The gist of his speech was that we should so organise the reform of Greek pronunciation, that a boy who has been learning Latin already should have little fresh to learn in pronunciation when he begins Greek. In the next few years the reformed Latin pronunciation will probably be all but universal. As soon as that has happened, it is obvious that the natural tendency of things will be that Greek pronunciation will follow Latin pronunciation. Is it wise, even in order to gain additional scientific accuracy, to put a stumbling-block in the way of that natural process? The question is not so much what you can do in teaching boys, and what they can do with their vocal organs, as what is worth doing; and it would be a stumbling-block to the boys if they have a separate set of rules for the pronunciation of these vowels in Greek. I am not at all certain that in schools which have adopted the new system of Latin pronunciation the signs assigned to long e and long o are actually being followed. It is likely that these schools anglify them, and if so, the case will be the same in Greek. When we have got reformed pronunciation in both languages established, we can then proceed to make it more accurate. In the meantime, the great thing is to get it introduced."

Mr. F. M. CORNFORD suggested that the restored pronunciation of Greek should be introduced in the schools gradually, first into the lower forms and later into the higher, and that, in order to encourage the schools to adopt the reform, University teachers be asked to introduce the restored pronunciation in the Michaelmas term of 1910. The only way to start the new pronunciation was to carry it up through

the schools, and then let the Universities take it up a few years hence.

Dr. J. E. SANDYS recounted the history of Greek pronunciation in Cambridge. In 1528 Erasmus published his dialogue between the Lion and the Bear, and from 1535 onwards the Erasmian pronunciation was gradually introduced in Cambridge by Thomas Smith, John Cheke, and Roger Ascham, until in 1542 the Chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, decreed a prompt return to the old Byzantine pronunciation. This decree was rigorously enforced in 1554, but, after the accession of Elizabeth, the Erasmian pronunciation came into general use in England. "By this revived pronunciation," says Sir Thomas Smith, "were displayed the flower and the fulness of the Greek language, the variety of sounds, the grandeur of diphthongs, the majesty of long vowels, the luminous order and the grace of distinct speech." It should be noticed that the old Erasmian pronunciation of the *vowels* was the same as that already in use in France, while the modern English pronunciation of the vowels is the same as that of the English vowels. The report of the Committee was welcome as practically advocating a return to the true Erasmian pronunciation, as opposed to the present degenerate English variety of it.

"As to the report itself," Dr. Sandys proceeded, "under the heading of *Quantity* on page 1 there is a certain infelicity in saying that the short vowels are to be distinguished from the long vowels by *prolongation*. We should transpose the two clauses, thus: 'The long vowels should be carefully distinguished from the short vowels by prolongation and not by stress.' Under the consonants, there is no suggestion as to the pronunciation of ζ. Finally, on the last line of the last page, I notice 'the word *χθονός* is pronounced with one aspirate only.' Does this mean that it *is* so pronounced, and if so, by whom? or that it *ought* to be so pronounced, and if so, how? What is the exact meaning of 'aspirate' in this phrase? Ought the word to be pronounced *chthonos*, or *ch-tonos*, or *ch-t-honos*?

"I congratulate the Committee on their caution in deferring the difficult question of accent. So far as it goes, the report, I think, deserves approval; but it needs some slight revision. I trust that the Committee will proceed with their work, and bring it to a successful conclusion."

Mrs. AGNES LEWIS drew attention to the pronunciation of the diphthong *eu*. On more than one ancient inscription, and on the very latest papyri discovered in Egypt, we find the word βασιλεύς written βασιλεfs; and in every nation where the everlasting Gospel has been preached, in English and in Latin, it is called the *Evangel*, or *Evangelium*. Why then in Greek alone are we not to be allowed to pronounce it *Evangelion*?

The Rev. A. SLOMAN suggested that an appendix should be added to the Report, saying how aspirates were pronounced at the beginning of words.

Professor R. M. BURROWS deprecated the idea that there should be one standard for the teacher and another for the pupil. It was far better for the teacher to waive a little of his theoretical correctness, if the pupil could not be expected to make a particular sound. An eminent lecturer on philology at Oxford could not account for his failure in teaching the *o* sounds, till he looked at his best student's note-book and found that he had consistently written *ὦς* as 'horse.'

After short speeches by Mr. A. B. COOK, Professor W. RIDGEWAY, and Mr. A. J. F. COLLINS,

The Rev. W. C. COMPTON said that, if the Committee reconsidered its Report, he hoped that the usual pronunciation of ζ as a double consonant would be maintained. To go back to the simple sound of z would be a loss.

The Rev. Dr. W. A. HEARD said that in Scotland the practice was to make the pronunciation of Greek and Latin as nearly alike as possible. Schools had a very practical way of getting rid of stumbling-blocks, and he hoped that the recommendations of the Report would be carried out.

After some further debate, Mr. A. E. BERNAYS suggested

that the Report should be referred to the Committee for reconsideration ; and it was proposed by Professor RIDGEWAY, seconded by Mr. E. HARRISON, and carried *nem. con.* :

“That the general principle embodied in the Report be approved, but that certain points be reserved for future consideration.”

At 4.45 p.m. the Association met again in the Senate House, when the PRESIDENT delivered an address on “Greek and the Classical Renaissance of To-day,”¹ and Professor W. G. HALE, of the University of Chicago, read a short paper on “The Heritage of Unreason in Syntactical Method.”²

At 9 p.m. the members were received by the Vice-Chancellor of the University (the Rev. E. S. ROBERTS, Master of Gonville and Caius) and Mrs. STEWART ROBERTS and by the PRESIDENT of the Association, in the Hall and Combination Rooms of Gonville and Caius College and in the Master’s Lodge. In the course of the evening short lectures, illustrated by lantern-slides, were given by Miss J. E. Harrison, Litt.D., Fellow of Newnham, on “The Pillar and the Maiden,”³ and by Mr. R. M. Dawkins, Fellow of Emmanuel and Director of the British School at Athens, on “The Excavations of the British School at Athens”⁴; and Mr. Clive CAREY, of Clare, recited the *parabasis* of the *Birds* of Aristophanes, with a pianoforte accompaniment by Dr. CHARLES WOOD.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19th

At 9.45 a.m. the Association met in the Senate House, and Mr. W. WARDE FOWLER read a short paper on “The Decay of Roman Home Life, illustrated by the History of the Roman House.”⁵

¹ P. 33.

² P. 53.

³ P. 65.

⁴ P. 79.

⁵ P. 83.

At 10.30 the minutes of the last General Meeting were taken as read. Apologies for absence from the meeting were received from Sir Archibald Geikie, Vice-President, and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford (Dr. T. H. Warren). Professor SONNENSCHN (Honorary Secretary) read the Report of the Council for 1907, as follows:—

“The Council has much satisfaction in reporting that the increase in the number of members and the progress of the Association’s work in various directions indicate that the Association is full of life and vigour and may safely look forward to a period of continued prosperity in the future. At the general meeting of October, 1906, the membership stood at about 1,140: it now stands at about 1,250.

“The membership of the two Local Branches of Manchester and Birmingham has increased, and additional local correspondents have been appointed for Adelaide, S. Australia; Cambridge (Christ’s, Clare, Jesus, King’s, Magdalene, Pembroke, Sidney Sussex and Trinity Colleges); Oxford (Exeter, Hertford, Jesus, Merton, New, Queen’s and St. John’s Colleges). There are now altogether 48 local correspondents, viz. at Aberystwith; Bangor; Bedford College, London; Bradford; Brighton; Bromley; Cambridge (11); Canterbury; Cardiff; Cheltenham (2); Dublin (2); Englefield Green; Galway; King’s College, London; Kensington; Leeds; Liverpool; Oxford (10); Sheffield; Wimbledon; Winchester; Windsor; Adelaide, S. Australia; Columbia University, U.S.A.; Rangoon; Vassar College, U.S.A.; Upper Canada College, Toronto.

“The Council has been glad to hear that the movement for creating a Classical Association for Ireland has made considerable progress during the past year and promises to lead to a successful issue in the near future, and it congratulates the scholars, representative of very varied educational interests in Ireland, who have taken a leading part in the movement. The Council has also heard with pleasure of a proposal to establish a Classical Association in South Africa.

“Last year the Association petitioned the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge ‘to take into consideration the abolition of the separate Greek Grammar paper at Responsions and the Previous Examination respectively, and the substitution for it of an easy paper in unprepared translation.’ The University of Cambridge has abolished the separate paper on Greek and Latin Grammar, and the questions in Grammar are now included in the papers on the set books or in the equivalent paper, and are such as arise from or are suggested by the passages given for translation. (Grace of the Senate, January 17th, 1907.) The Hebdomadal Council of the University of Oxford has accepted the principle of the petition of the Classical Association and has drafted a statute embodying it—that is to say, providing that the examinations in the Greek and Latin languages in Responsions shall consist of translation of unprepared passages into English, together with questions on grammar arising out of the passages selected for translation. This statute will very shortly be brought before the University.

“Special facilities were offered to members for an Easter tour to Italy and Rome; but owing to the circumstances that the University vacations and the public school holidays fell at different times, only a comparatively small number availed themselves of them. Those who did appear to have been quite satisfied with their experiences and to have gratefully appreciated the assistance and information which Dr. Ashby, the Director, and other officials of the British School at Rome placed at their disposal.

“About the same time the newly founded Italian Society, which corresponds to the Classical Association, held its second congress in Rome. A Latin address of sympathy and congratulation, written by Dr. Postgate, was presented by Dr. Ashby and appreciatively received.¹

“The Executive Committee of the Manchester Branch has discovered Roman remains of the first century, only six feet below the present surface, on an unoccupied site in the centre

¹ This address is printed on p. 117.

of Manchester, and this aroused great local interest. The sum of £450 to complete the excavation and publish the results was raised at a public meeting called by the Lord Mayor of Manchester, and the volume is to appear in January.

"The Balance Sheet for the year ending December 31st, 1906, was printed in the last volume of *Proceedings* (pp. 66 and 67) and is submitted for approval. A corresponding Balance Sheet will be ready at the end of the present year.¹ Meanwhile it will be satisfactory to members to know that the receipts for the year 1907 are about £150 in excess of the expenditure, and that the Association has a sum of £600 invested or on deposit.

"The first volume of the publication inaugurated by the Investigations Committee has been published under the title of *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, under the editorship of Dr. Rouse. The volume was supplied to members at a reduced price of 1s. 6d. (with postage 1s. 9d.) instead of 2s. 6d., and 283 members subscribed for it; 181 copies were also sold at the trade price. These sales are insufficient to cover the cost of production, and the Council feels that the continuance of the publication in the future must depend on the amount of support it receives from the members of the Association. The publication of this volume may have escaped the attention of some members who would wish to purchase copies.

"The scheme of Latin pronunciation recommended by the Pronunciation Committee, and adopted at the general meeting in October, 1906, has been published by Mr. John Murray in the form of a pamphlet entitled *The Pronunciation of Latin*, which has had a sale of nearly 500 copies. The scheme has also been officially adopted by the Board of Education, and is now in use in a very large number of secondary schools.

"The Council presents herewith the further report of the Pronunciation Committee appointed March 18th, 1905, 'to consider and report on the best methods of introducing

¹ Printed on p. 112.

a uniform pronunciation of Latin and Greek'; and the concluding report of the Curricula Committee appointed March 18th, 1905, 'to consider in what respects the present school curriculum in Latin and Greek can be lightened and the means of instruction improved.'"

The adoption of the report was proposed by Professor SONNENSCHN, seconded by Mr. F. FLETCHER, and carried *nem. con.*

Dr. F. G. KENYON.—"We have now to elect a President for the next year, and the name which I beg to suggest to you on behalf of the Council is that of the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith. Mr. Asquith represents the union of public life and scholarship which has been a feature of our English statesmen in the past, and I hope will long continue to be so. We have already had as President for a previous year a distinguished member of the late Cabinet, and the election of Mr. Asquith will show that the Association has no politics. We shall all agree that Mr. Asquith's great abilities could not be better employed than in the cause of classical education."

The motion was seconded by the Rev. T. L. PAPILLON and carried unanimously.

Dr. KENYON.—"I will now move that our Vice-Presidents, except Mr. Asquith, be re-elected; and I have also five new Vice-Presidents to propose. The first name is that of our present President, Mr. Butcher. I am sure the meeting will be glad of this opportunity of showing in a small way their gratitude for the brilliant and stimulating address that we have heard. Those who have been members of the Council know that Mr. Butcher has been the life and soul of the deliberations of the Association from the very start. I have also to propose the names of the Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Rev. E. S. Roberts, and of Professor W. G. Hale, whom we heard yesterday, and whose presence among our Vice-Presidents will be a sign of the interest that American Colleges have taken from

the first in the work of this Association. I have also to add the names of Dr. Henry Jackson, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, and Professor Mackail, who was the first Treasurer of the Association, and whose address at the first meeting may be described as our original manifesto."

The motion was seconded by Mr. NOWELL SMITH and carried unanimously.

Dr. KENYON.—"There are also five vacancies on the Council, and the names submitted for your consideration are:—Mrs. Verrall; Professor Ridgeway; Professor Haverfield, Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford; Mr. C. Bailey, Fellow of Balliol College; and Mr. H. Williamson, Treasurer of the Manchester branch since its foundation, whose services were so valuable at the successful meeting which we held last year at Manchester."

The motion was seconded by Mr. J. W. HEADLAM and carried unanimously.

Dr. KENYON.—"Finally, there are the Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretaries to be appointed. I am very glad to say that no change in those officers is proposed, and the Association will continue to have the benefit of their experience. Professor Walters is proposed as Treasurer, and Professor Sonnenschein and Mr. Harrison as Secretaries. You all know the value of their work, but you do not all know the amount of time which that work consumes; and perhaps I might suggest one or two ways in which the business of the Treasurer might be lessened. One is by paying your subscription for four years at a time in advance, which I believe to be the method most profitable to the Association; and the other is by sending a banker's order, which involves the least trouble. As to lightening the Secretaries' work, I am afraid I can suggest no means. We can only express our gratitude, and hope that they will long continue to give us their help."

The motion was seconded by Mr. GILBERT MURRAY and carried unanimously.

Professor SONNENSCHNEN then moved that the next General Meeting should be held in Birmingham on the 9th and 10th of October, 1908. He quoted the following resolution, which had been proposed by the Bishop of Birmingham, seconded by the Lord Mayor of Birmingham, and unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Local Branch, which was also attended by most of the head masters and head mistresses of the Secondary Schools of Birmingham, and by a number of the prominent clergy, on September 27th :

“That this special meeting of the Committee of the Birmingham and Midland Branch of the Classical Association, together with friends of classical education in Birmingham and the neighbourhood, invite the Classical Association to hold their General Meeting for the year 1908 in Birmingham.”

The PRESIDENT.—“This most hospitable offer from Birmingham will, I am sure, be gratefully welcomed by the Association.”

The motion was seconded by the Rev. T. L. PAPILLON and carried unanimously.

Professor W. C. F. WALTERS (Honorary Treasurer).—“A financial statement has already been made in the Report of the Council. The expenditure so far for the year has been about £170. Of course there are some liabilities, such as the expenses of this meeting and the expenses of the *Proceedings* to be published at the end of the year. The receipts for the year so far have been £290. Money has come in very freely lately, especially from Cambridge, so that our present balance is nearly £150. This is, of course, merely a temporary position of things for this part of the year. A full balance sheet will be presented with the *Proceedings* as last year.¹ What I have to do now is to propose that the Association approve and accept the balance sheet for 1906 as given on pages 66 and 67 of the *Proceedings* for October, 1906.”

¹ Printed on p. 112.

The motion was seconded by Mr. M. O. B. CASPARI and carried *nem. con.*

A motion of which notice had been given, "That members of the Council shall be elected for one year, and shall be re-eligible for two more years in succession," was withdrawn.

Professor W. G. HALE.—"I have the honour to move a vote of thanks to the University of Cambridge for the loan of the Senate House ; to the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius for the loan of their Hall and Combination Rooms, and to Mrs. Roberts and the Vice-Chancellor for opening the Master's Lodge ; to the Committee whose names are on the fourth page of the programme, and to the Hospitality Committee and the ladies who have acted as hostesses ; and to the Cambridge Classical Society for its co-operation, and in particular to its President, Professor Ridgeway."

The PRESIDENT.—"The welcome offered to us by Cambridge at this meeting is a thing which we shall not forget, and I do feel especially grateful to the busiest man in Cambridge for having shown us such gracious hospitality. We are also much indebted to those who have worked on the small Committee. They have all done much work which I will not attempt to describe, and I think it is all the more kind of them to take in a hundred guests or more at the moment when there is an impending railway strike, and we might have been left on their hands."

The motion was seconded by Mr. POPE and carried by acclamation.

Mr. PAPILLON.—"I have pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the retiring President. You have already heard from Dr. Kenyon of the work he has done and the service he has been to the Association ; you heard for yourselves yesterday afternoon with what grace and force and illumination he can handle the cause for which we are met here ; and I think you will agree with me that we ought to carry a

most hearty vote of thanks to Professor Butcher for his services as our President."

The motion was carried by acclamation.

The PRESIDENT.—"I am most grateful to my old friend for proposing this vote. I have felt it to be a high honour to be President of the Association after those much more distinguished men who came before me. I look upon it as a very great delight to feel that in a very small way, as a member of the Council, I can keep in touch with classical education in England; and I will just take this further opportunity of saying what a pleasure it has been to find that there are men busily engaged in teaching in the Universities and in schools, who frequently give up their one holiday in the week and come up from all parts of the country to spend a long day in a dreary city considering how they may best promote the welfare of classical studies. To those members of the Council with whom I have worked I would give my warmest thanks, as well as to the Association as a whole.

"Now we come to the Report of the Curricula Committee on the teaching of Latin, and I will call upon Professor Sonnenschein to make a general introductory statement."

Professor SONNENSCHN.—"We propose that three resolutions arising out of this Report and expressing its general tendency should be presented separately for adoption, but that the Report as a whole should only be received and entered on the minutes. In moving this, I desire to call attention to one or two general features of the Report.

"Within the last few days a very important Circular (No. 574, dated October 10th) has been issued by the Board of Education, dealing with the teaching of Latin in Secondary Schools, and also two special reports on the teaching of Classics in Prussian Secondary Schools, by Mr. Paton of Manchester and Mr. Fletcher of Marlborough. I think that members of the Association will feel with me that there is a complete agreement on essential principles between the

Classical Association and the Board of Education. In regard to the burning question which has formed the subject of a conference between representatives of the Classical Association, the Modern Language Association, and the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters—the question whether a modern language should be begun before Latin—the Board of Education agree with us in not laying it down as a principle of universal application that it is better to begin with the modern language, while at the same time they recognise, as we do, that there are weighty arguments to be adduced in favour of this procedure. And we have an additional reason for exercising caution in this matter, in so far as we are considering not only schools in which only Latin and no Greek is taught, but also the specially classical schools, called First Grade Schools. What is true of one type of school is not necessarily true of another. Obviously, too, a great deal depends on the way in which Latin is taught. Many of the objections urged against commencing the study at an early age are based upon the assumption that Latin will continue to be taught on old-fashioned lines, and without contact with those newer ideas which have done much to improve the teaching of modern languages, and which may be fruitfully applied to Latin itself. It is pretty clear that if Latin is taught more like a living language it becomes *pro tanto* less abstract and more suited to an early age of study. Again, if attention is directed to giving the pupils plenty of oral practice and accustoming them to the sounds of the Latin language, as passing from living lip to living ear, Latin acquires some of the merits which are claimed for French as an early study. One great advantage of the study of the first foreign language is that it should loosen the tongues of the pupils and give them a certain freedom of movement in some language other than their own, and this may be done to some extent, at any rate, in Latin if the effort is made. The method which I have in mind does not involve any sacrifice of strict grammatical discipline, nor is it to be identified with a

conversational method of learning, *i.e.* the use of Latin for the ordinary purposes of the intercourse of life. Oral practice is one thing, conversation another.

“In defining the objects of the study of Latin the Committee touches upon what is really the fundamental question in all such discussions, as the Head Master of Eton has pointed out in *The Classical Review* of last month. Why do we learn Latin? Do we learn the language in order to read the literature, or do we read the literature in order to learn the language? Whichever of these alternatives one affirms one seems to be ignoring some important aspect of the study. The answer of the Committee is that the object of learning Latin is twofold, (i) the intelligent reading of the more important Latin authors, (ii) a linguistic and logical discipline. Which of these ends is the more important it is not necessary to decide: both are essential; and they are not inconsistent. But when we say ‘linguistic and logical discipline’ we do not mean Ciceronianism and purism, which killed Latin as a living language at the time of the Renaissance; and when we say ‘intelligent reading of Latin authors’ we do not mean the treatment of Latin literature as the vehicle of so much *information*; still less the habit of regarding the authors as a quarry from which gems may be collected for future use in prose or verse composition. In the name of taste and literary form classical teachers have concentrated attention too much on the fine passages, the graceful lyrical turns, the noble thoughts, the felicitous expressions or dainty touches, to the exclusion from view of the meaning or message of a work of literature as a whole. The opposite error—that of regarding the literature as so many documents of historical purport as to the state of ancient society and its relation to the modern world—is one into which Germany at present seems in some danger of falling, in so far as the authors are read for what is called their content or subject-matter—something which can be expressed in the form of a logical or historical proposition—to the neglect of their human

aspects and their power of appealing to the feelings as well as the judgment. Hence the stress which is laid by Wilamowitz upon giving a complete picture of the Greek world and our own debt to it, even though, as our President pointed out yesterday, it means the reading of little or comparatively little of the great masters of the classical period. Hence, too, the limitation of Virgil to one or two books, and the thrusting of Cicero into a relatively unimportant place in the curriculum, which is characteristic of some recent German educational theory.

“ We have tried to avoid these extremes. What we stand for is rather the reading of Latin literature *as it was meant by its authors to be read*—if a history, then with an eye to the facts, the march of events, and the development of the historic sense; if a lyric or epic poem, then with an open mind for its power to touch the emotions and appeal to the sense of beauty.

“ We hope that our ideal is something more human than the ideal of the Renaissance—something more fitted for the average man: scholarship without pedantry, and aesthetic appreciation without preciosity. That classical study *par excellence* affords at once a logical training, a large outlook upon the world, and aesthetic appreciation, is its pre-eminent merit, and the best justification for the place which it occupies in our educational system. In order to realise this ideal the Committee has made a suggestion which, though not new, seems to need emphasis, namely, the principle that the classical authors should be studied, so far as circumstances permit, as literary wholes. This may seem at first sight an impossible demand at the present day when the time that can be devoted to the classics has been reduced; but a solution of the difficulty may be found if we recognise the principle that in order to grasp the unity of a literary work it is not necessary to read the whole of it, provided that we omit only the less essential parts. Hitherto we have bowed down too much before the fetich of the *book*, the whole book, and nothing but the book. We supposed we were reading

in a literary spirit if we read a whole book of, say, Tacitus, or Virgil, or Horace. Yet a single book of an author, while it may enable one to appreciate his *style*, often gives a very imperfect idea of his work as a whole. This is obvious in the case of historians and epic poets. It is almost as though one were to read in English a single book of *Middlemarch* and fancy that one had understood the story. The unity of the Odes of Horace lies, if anywhere, in the first three books, which were published together; and we can get a better idea of this unity by reading a selection of the most beautiful and representative odes contained in these three books than by confining attention to any one of them. The day has gone by when every classical author was regarded as perfect in all his parts. We recognise that they have degrees of merit, and it necessarily follows that if we devote our attention impartially to the whole of a single book we lose our opportunity of coming into contact with some of the most vital things in the author. Here then is the suggestion of the Curricula Committee,—‘that a classical author should be treated as far as possible as a literary whole, the several books being read in consecutive order, though with omissions of the less important parts’; and the Committee calls attention to the important difference which exists between reading a book with some omissions, and reading a collection of mere excerpts which, beautiful as they may be in themselves, are totally incapable of representing the work as a whole.”

The motion “that the Report be received and entered on the minutes” was seconded by Professor MACKAIL and carried *nem. con.*

Canon G. C. BELL, in proposing the first Resolution, said: “No experienced school teacher would attempt to cramp the young mind into the difficulties of two foreign languages at once; but I can imagine a home where a scholarly father should begin Latin with his boy, and at the same time an able mother or governess should begin French. But success is impossible. Latin and French, indeed, are so

much alike that perhaps it might be said that one would help the other; but there are all sorts of minute differences, in the meanings of similar words, in genders, and in constructions; and then there is the question of sound, very much complicated of late years by two changes that have taken place. First, we no longer shall encourage children to pronounce Latin in the old British way. Secondly, there is the whole subject of phonetics, which many teachers now consider to be essential; but the phonetic systems of two languages such as Latin and French are quite different. To plunge young children (either boys or girls) into the abyss of such difficulties would be unpardonable. Again, if it is proposed to teach two languages that are not alike, such as Latin and German, the objections are multiplied. I need not elaborate the subject, but will move:

“‘That it is not desirable to begin the school study of two foreign languages, ancient or modern, at or about the same time.’”

At this point it was agreed to take as an amendment a motion of which Dr. J. P. Postgate had given notice.

Dr. POSTGATE accordingly moved:

“That, since Latin is considerably more difficult than modern languages, no scheme of education including it will be satisfactory which does not recognise either that Latin should be begun at an earlier age than those languages, or that a considerably larger number of hours should be allotted to it in the school curriculum.”

He said:

“My motion does not assert definitely either that Latin should be begun at an earlier age than modern languages, or that a considerable number of hours should be allotted to it, but it asserts that we must accept one or other of these alternatives, and I take it that if this motion is carried the Council would consider it as an instruction from the Association to take up the consideration of this question by

appointing a day for discussion or otherwise. Before we can arrive at any satisfactory scheme, we must recognise that Latin is a language of superior difficulty to the modern tongues. If I had been speaking at a later stage, I should have given you statistics drawn from the Universities' Local Examinations to show that there is a very considerable decrease in the number of candidates in Latin in the Senior and Junior and Preliminary Examinations of both Oxford and Cambridge: two Universities which are at least favourable to the study of Latin. Let me ask you to take my word for this, and to allow me just to quote from a paper by a Harrow master, which has come into my hands to-day, a single but peculiar phrase: 'Now that Latin and Greek (especially the latter) are slowly but surely drifting out of our school curriculum.'¹ It is mentioned, you see, as a matter about which there can be no doubt whatever, incidentally and without any appearance of heat. This is why I felt it was urgent to bring my motion before this meeting, and I move it in no hostility to the proposals in the Report.

"With regard to these two alternatives, it is very important that we should make up our minds soon, which of them should be adopted in any general scheme. One of these alternatives, it is true, may suit certain forms of education, and the other may be more suitable to other forms. But *within the same educational sphere* you will have to choose, and the sooner you choose the better will it be. Without arguing the matter out, I would put before you some considerations that may be urged on either side. As an argument for beginning French or some other modern language earlier than Latin it may be said that such languages are nearer to our own, and that therefore the young mind will be more receptive of them, and overcome their initial difficulties more quickly. That is an argument to which great weight should be given. On the other side it may be said that before deciding in the matter we ought

¹ *Modern Language Teaching*, October, 1907, p. 173.

to consider very carefully what exactly it is that makes Latin a much more difficult language than French or even German to an English boy or girl. The reason is that in three or four important particulars Latin and English diverge, where Latin and French do not diverge. The framework of the languages is different. English and French express the different functions of a word by putting modifiers before the word; Latin by putting them at the end of the word. In English and French the order of words is tied; but in Latin it is free. In English and French a change in order usually means a change in syntax; in Latin a change of emphasis. Latin has no article; English and French have two. If, then, French is taught before Latin, the strong proclivities of English associations towards forms of expression which are alien to Latin will be strengthened by the similar associations in French, the ruts will be deepened and the difficulty of learning Latin at a later stage much increased. That French does exert an influence upon the acquisition of a classical language appears to be shown by actual evidence. For example, a common mistake in learning Greek is to put the adjective after the noun when the definite article is used. This is not the order in English, which agrees with Greek, but it is the order usual in French. Such are some of the considerations to be taken into account before we can settle the question, what is the educational minimum for the study of Latin in schools, and how we are to arrive at it—by beginning earlier, or by allotting it more hours in the school curriculum. I may give here the estimate of a friend of mine—a practical schoolmaster who has no undue bias in favour of the classical languages, since he came to Cambridge at considerable inconvenience to vote against compulsory Greek—‘that at least six hours a week were required to teach Latin.’ I do not myself say that six hours are necessary—that is a matter to be discussed; but the minimum, whatever it is, should be provided, and if a school cannot provide it, it had far better drop Latin entirely from its curriculum. I therefore ask you to

support this amendment in order that we may have a thorough discussion and early settlement of the question which of the two alternatives should be adopted for general use in the different classes of schools."

The Rev. and Hon. Canon E. LYTTETON, in seconding the amendment, said: "We are bound, as rational beings, to agree that, if a subject is taught, it must be taught well. If Latin is to be taught well, we must give it a sufficient number of hours, either by beginning it earlier with a moderate number of hours, or by beginning it later with an increased number. Now the chief difficulty is this. The subjects which push out Latin are French and Science; and a large number of parents have a more robust belief in the value of French than in that of any other subject whatever. This belief has had great influence on preparatory and public schools, and it has obliged them during the last ten years to adopt, as far as they can, modern methods in teaching French. In consequence, French makes a larger demand on our time. In spite of that demand, we are bound to make some recommendation about Latin which will commend itself to practical men. Schoolmasters are willing that Latin should be taught well, and have a sufficient number of hours allotted to it; but they labour under this real and practical difficulty, and we ought to show them such sympathy as we can."

Miss M. H. WOOD said that Dr. Postgate's two alternatives were of very unequal value. The value of an hour's teaching differed with the age of the pupil; and much of the earlier teaching was sheer waste. Case-inflections, for example, cannot be understood by children of eight, and their time would be better spent in learning the vocabulary of a modern language. The alternative of giving Latin a larger number of hours at a later age was therefore to be preferred.

Mr. F. FLETCHER.—"Dr. Postgate's motion is almost a truism. Either we must begin Latin at an early age, as we have been doing; or we must by some means give a

larger number of hours a week to it at a later age, in accordance with the experience of the German schools who have tried the experiment. But the difficulty of this is the difficulty of parents. We should need to be sure that we could be free from the pressure of a variety of outside subjects when a boy reached the age of sixteen, and that a Modern-side boy would be able to give, say, six hours a week at a time when Latin was opening really valuable possibilities. Then I think a boy might very advantageously begin at eleven instead of nine; but at present I have not convinced myself that this is practical, though I should be glad to think that it could be done. I support this motion of Dr. Postgate's, because I see no choice except the two choices he has given, unless Latin is to be dropped altogether."

Miss E. GAVIN.—"The wording of the amendment has not been as convincing to me as to the last speaker. After saying that 'Latin is considerably more difficult than modern languages,' it goes on to suggest that it should be begun at an earlier age. I have always understood that in teaching the easy should precede the difficult, and for that reason I could not possibly accept the resolution in its first part; but I do think that when Latin is begun a large number of hours should be allotted to it. A great educational advantage of putting French before Latin to my mind is that when children have learnt some French and then go on to Latin there is very great pleasure in drawing a connection between the two languages."

The Rev. R. BULL.—"May I say a few words about the chief difficulty experienced by Preparatory Schools, namely, the enormous difference between the theories advanced by the Head Masters' Association and the practice at their schools? We are in a perpetual dilemma between the two. The Classical Association seems in danger of being equally unpractical. Our committee in their recommendations speak of Latin being begun at ten or eleven. But where is the Preparatory School that can begin with French,

as so many speakers have recommended, and leave Latin till ten? Where is the Public School that will give scholarships, or even admission into any but the lowest forms, to boys who have been so taught, leaving Greek to be begun at fourteen? Further, how many of those who signed the recommendations before us will send their own boys to a Preparatory School with the request that they may not begin Latin before they are ten? The scheme recommended is in itself excellent and goes far to meet a real need; but we must realise the magnitude of the change it implies. At most Preparatory Schools Latin is begun before nine. I once had a boy from another school a week before his eighth birthday. He had begun French, Latin, and Greek simultaneously in the previous term. He declined *μοῦσα* with Latin endings, and, needless to say, he could neither read, write, nor spell the most elementary English.

“What I plead for, then, is that those who propound excellent theories should themselves act upon them, and then there will be some hope of bridging over the gulf between our discussions and the realities of school life, and of attaining the goal of an ideal curriculum for young boys.”

Mr. W. F. WITTON said that Dr. Postgate's proposals could not be applied to the smaller Public Schools, Grammar Schools, and Municipal Secondary Schools, since their timetable is so crowded that no more time can be found for Latin, nor can Latin be begun earlier, since many of their pupils enter at the age of twelve from elementary schools. There was a danger that some people might interpret the motion to mean that Latin was the subject on which most time could be spent with the least result. Instead of adopting the motion, the Association would act more wisely if it gave these smaller schools some idea as to how the small amount of time that could be devoted to Latin might be most profitably employed.

Miss M. MORTON said that even if it was admitted that Latin was harder than a modern foreign language, it did not

necessarily follow that more time must be devoted to it. It was only necessary to limit the aim, as indeed the Association seemed prepared to do. In the case of a modern language the aim was ability to speak, read, and write with the widest possible range; in Latin the aim could be restricted to reading a limited number of works and writing in a very circumscribed way.

The PRESIDENT said that the wording of the amendment might lead to much misconstruction. Many persons would infer that new and larger demands were being made for Latin. He hoped that Dr. Postgate would not press the amendment to a vote.

Dr. POSTGATE agreed to withdraw the amendment, with the proviso that the two alternatives mentioned in it should be regarded as still open for discussion.

The amendment having been withdrawn, the original motion was carried *nem. con.*

Mr. R. F. CHOLMELEY, in proposing the second Resolution, said: "This motion may well seem to you to need no recommendation: and yet, in spite of the almost axiomatic simplicity of its language, the doctrine which it implies is more revolutionary than you would think. We have just heard something of the extreme divergence which exists between the recommendations made by schoolmasters to the Classical Association and the practice of those masters in their own schools; and some of you may not be surprised to hear that there are places where the approved method of teaching Latin is still to make the boys learn by heart large masses of grammar towards the end of their books, and at the same time to get their practice from the elementary exercises at the beginning. This is actually done; and it is in order to rescue the children of this country from such horrible conditions that this resolution has been formulated.

"Two errors in particular stand in the way of the right teaching of Latin and Greek. One is that we are inclined to look back to the mediaeval practice, when Latin at any rate

was used for talking, and to forget that we have now so many more things to talk about that conversational Latin is no longer possible in the same way. The other is that we tend to confuse the conditions of artistic and scientific teaching, or to forget that while Grammar is a science, Literature is an art. To boys who will not go far in them, Latin or Greek should be taught as an art, rather than as a science; and they have this advantage over most other arts, that everybody can do a little of them. Most of us have to learn about painting, for instance, without being able to paint; but in learning Latin and Greek we are learning the art of Literature and producing it, even if ever so little, at the same time. If this is true, the proposals contained in the resolution must surely be accepted as reasonable. They involve two very simple assertions; but if the Classical Association is to succeed in forcing its principles upon those who would rather be blind to them, it is necessary to be as simple and as clear as possible even about the most elementary things. It is asserted, first, that in Latin and Greek, just as in some practical art like carving, teachers should make their pupils sharpen their tools every day and practise simple examples again and again before proceeding to more complicated patterns; secondly, that in teaching Latin and Greek we must limit not only the number of patterns, but the number of tools to be used by beginners. It may be possible—indeed it must be, for Dr. Rouse has done it—to make ordinary boys able to read the *Apology* soon after beginning Greek by talking with them in Greek about all the things to be found in a Stores catalogue; yet I could not help wondering, as I read Dr. Rouse's charming little book, whether those boys would not have been able to read Plato sooner if they had been talking about the things of which Plato talks. But this is a controversial question outside the terms of my resolution. I beg to move:

“‘That in the earliest stage of teaching Latin and Greek the teacher should aim at making his pupils

very familiar with such words, inflexions, and constructions as occur most commonly in the authors, and especially the first author, to be read at school.'"

The motion was seconded by Mr. BASIL WILLIAMS.

Miss M. C. DUNSTALL suggested that the motion might be amended with advantage by substituting "examiners," "test," and "examinees" for "teachers," "teach," and "pupils." Teachers did not teach the dative and ablative plural of *filia* in response to a demand of the British public, but to that made by the examiners; and teachers who had to prepare pupils for examinations were very much in the examiners' hands.

The motion was carried *nem. con.*

Professor MACKAIL, in moving the third Resolution, said :
"The resolution just carried was described by its mover as an axiom, a term which subsequently turned out to mean a rather highly controversial proposition. The resolution which I am moving, while it falls short of being axiomatic, may perhaps be accepted as uncontroversial, and in point of fact it seems to me the most important thing towards the whole life and growth of classical studies in England at the present time. May I read a sentence or two out of the document which has already been quoted, the circular on the Teaching of Latin just issued by the Board of Education? 'The study of Latin is an essential part of a complete modern education. No study of the development of European institutions is possible without knowledge of Latin, for in it are contained the records of the development of law, religion, literature, and thought. Latin is an essential instrument for the educational use of the English language, and any scientific study of the Romance languages.' These are brave words; how far do they correspond with the facts in schools? It is our principal duty, the principal duty of all friends of Classics in this country, to see if they can be justified by practice, and they cannot, to my mind,

be so justified except through such consistent and organised method in teaching as is urged in this resolution. All this is so nearly self-evident that I should only obscure it if I tried to illustrate it by comment. All, I think, that is necessary is to say a few words which may remove any possible misapplication or wrong impression of two phrases in the resolution itself. These are 'organised scheme,' and 'historical value.' As regards the first, the misapprehension which seems possible is that in this resolution some cast-iron system is being recommended, that the Association is trying to impose upon schools the reading of certain books in a certain order. That is far from the intention, I believe, of the Committee, and certainly far from the intention of the Council. The system which we desire to see introduced into schools is not a hard-and-fast system, but one which will vary from school to school, and which will be adjusted by the schoolmaster according to the capacity of his boys, the time at his disposal, and the particular strong or weak points of his staff. It will therefore not be rigid; it will be flexible. It will have the flexibility which only exists in organised structures, the flexibility which is killed by being disjointed. So much on the first point, as regards the organisation of reading. As regards the subject-matter of the reading, the resolution says in the first place that the pieces selected should 'be suitable in respect of 'both their language and their subject-matter to different stages of learning.' This is really axiomatic, for no one would suggest that they should be chosen for their unsuitability. It goes on to say that there should be kept in view 'the literary and historical value of the authors or parts of authors selected.' As regards the question involved in the words 'parts of authors,' we have already been warned by a previous speaker against the tyranny of the book. While not at all disposed to disagree with that warning, my own feeling would be to lay still greater emphasis upon the other danger, the anarchy of the excerpt. The tyranny of the book is, so far as my

knowledge goes, a very mild thing. The other danger is a real, a vital, and a very insidious one; and this brings me directly to the second point, as regards the historical value of the Latin which is read. The term 'historical value' is happily ambiguous. It means on the one hand the value of the work read towards our knowledge of history. We learn and read Latin for the purpose of knowledge; the excerpts are read for the sake of the facts contained in them. But, what is more important for our present purpose, the historical value of the Latin and Greek authors is not only their value towards history, but their value as history. In this sense we study Latin not for the sake of the facts given us by the authors, but for the sake of the authors themselves, and for their value as dominant and vital factors in the evolution of civilisation, and in the progress and development of thought, art, and life. I beg to move:

“‘That the scheme of reading in Latin and Greek authors should be carefully organised and graduated with a view (1) to the selection of such authors as are suitable in respect of both their language and their subject-matter to different stages of learning, (2) to the literary and historical value of the authors or parts of authors selected.’”

The motion was seconded by Mr. GILBERT MURRAY and carried *nem. con.*

Canon LYTTLETON moved to add to the Resolution the words:

“and that, with a view to the attainment of this object, simple narrative in prose or verse should be selected, as far as possible, for the younger pupils.”

The Resolution as it stood would be generally accepted. But at present in many schools authors chosen entirely for their literary merit were read long before that merit could be appreciated by the boys: a survival from the time when boys were brought up to quote Latin and Greek and

to write compositions long before they could understand literary merit. If the idea contained in the Resolution was to prevail over that older idea, the schoolmaster needed more definite guidance, and it was important to insist on the necessity of choosing narrative, the only form of Latin literature which children at the outset could understand.

The motion was seconded by Mr. F. FLETCHER and carried *nem. con.*

It was then suggested that the Curricula Committee be re-appointed; and it was agreed, on the motion of Professor SONNENSCHN :

“That the Council be requested to reappoint a Curricula Committee.”

Note.—The chief arrangements for the Cambridge meeting were made by a Committee consisting of the following members: The Vice-Chancellor of the University (Rev. E. S. Roberts, Master of Gonville and Caius College, Chairman), Messrs. F. M. Cornford, P. Giles, E. Harrison,* Miss J. E. Harrison, Professor Henry Jackson, Mr. F. J. H. Jenkinson (University Librarian), Professors J. W. Mackail,* J. P. Postgate,* J. S. Reid, W. Ridgeway,* Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, Dr. J. E. Sandys (Public Orator), Mr. J. T. Sheppard,* Professors C. Waldstein and W. C. F. Walters,* Dr. A. W. Ward* (Master of Peterhouse), Mr. L. Whibley.*

The arrangements for hospitality were made by a Committee consisting of the following members:—Mrs. H. Montagu Butler, Miss J. E. Harrison, Miss K. Jex-Blake, Mrs. H. F. Stewart, Dr. J. Adam, Messrs. E. Harrison, E. E. Sikes, N. Wedd.

By the kindness of their Librarians (Mr. F. J. H. Jenkinson and Mr. C. W. Moule), the University Library and the Library of Corpus Christi College were opened to members of the Association during certain hours.

* Members of the Executive Committee.

MR. S. H. BUTCHER, M.P.

GREEK AND THE CLASSICAL RENAISSANCE OF TO-DAY.

For the first time we meet to-day at Cambridge. Four years ago we came into existence as the "Classical Association of England and Wales;" and though we have now got rid of all limiting words in our title, I may perhaps be allowed to recall the fact that it was at Cambridge that the idea of our Association originated. "Living movements do not come out of Committees," said Newman; and this movement, assuredly a living one, came, if out of any single brain, out of that of Dr. Postgate. It is true that the Classical Association of Scotland was before us in the field; still in this place I desire to commemorate Dr. Postgate as our Founder.

That our first meeting here should be under any other Presidency than that of Sir Richard Jebb is a saddening reflection. He was nominated to the office which I have now the high honour of holding, but he did not live to take office. I, or any one else, may occupy his room; no one can fill his place. For our generation he has stood as the perfect type of the scholar and the humanist; for years past he has been the undisputed leader of our band; it is not too much to say that he imparted to classical studies in this country a new direction and ideal; and since his death, scholarship in every land has paid its tributes to his incomparable work; the last and perhaps the best—the most intimately appreciative—being that of Dr. Verrall in a chapter of the *Life and Letters* just published, a volume

which, to those who knew only the scholar at a distance, now makes known through his own familiar letters the man "dear to the Muses" and beloved by many friends.

In the last few months other gaps have occurred in our classical ranks. Three of our foremost scholars have been lost to us by premature death; Dr. Adam—long will his loss be felt in Cambridge—Dr. Rutherford and Dr. Strachan; all three, Scotsmen of power and fervid enthusiasm, who in their divergent lines of study have each of them left the strong impress of their character and personality on all that they produced.

I will not now take up your time by anticipating the Report of the Council or forestalling the discussions which are to follow; but there is one matter so important as to claim immediate notice. I have to report that the scheme for the restored pronunciation of Latin is advancing steadily towards a successful end. We have moved slowly; we have done so on purpose; we were resolved to make good each step of ground as we went. So great a change cannot, as we well know, be carried through in a day. But the goal is now in sight. We have won the adhesion of all the chief bodies in England. The Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge may be taken as speaking for the Universities; the Headmasters' Conference and the Assistant Masters' Associations represent the Secondary Schools. The Board of Education have issued a circular recommending the reform in all schools recognised by the Board. The Scotch Education Department have approved a scheme almost identical with our own, drawn up by the Classical Association of Scotland, and have urged its adoption in the schools under their inspection. That is a hopeful record of progress.

Reformed methods of teaching the Classics have also engaged the attention of our Council. Probably we all think how much better we might have been taught than we were. Some of us whose teaching days are over look back with chastened feelings to our own obsolete methods, our groping attempts, our opportunities of experiment too

often neglected. Yet we must bear in mind that, however much methods may be improved, we cannot smooth away all the difficulties of Greek and Latin. There is a point beyond which it is impossible to simplify ; the hard facts of language stand in the way. Scaliger, writing to a friend who had told him of a new Polish plan of Greek made easy, said, "Whoever would conquer as I have conquered must do so by the sweat of their brow." This is also the law of learning in much humbler walks of classical study. But we believe the reward to be worth the cost. If our studies have indeed lost vitality, why, let them go. We are not silversmiths of Ephesus making shrines for the great goddess Diana ; nor have we any war to wage with other studies ; to all of them we are friendly. We admit freely that a man can get through life very handsomely without a knowledge of the Classics. Any one who looks through our Proceedings in the last few years must be struck by the studious moderation of our tone and the absence of all exaggerated claims. Both in speeches and papers the pleas put forward in defence of the Classics have been temperate and powerful. The reason we are here to-day is that we have a quiet but strong conviction of the value of this learning to the intellectual life of the nation ; a belief also that our classical studies may be made more literary without the loss of disciplinary effectiveness.

One of the earliest puzzles which have perplexed mankind is what words are and how to treat them. Dangerously alive things, said some : mere dead things, said others. There is an ancient legend, vouched for by Kipling, of the man who had achieved a deed, but when he came to explain it to the tribe, was dumb. Then arose the man with the magic of the necessary words, and he described the deed so that "the words became alive and walked up and down in the hearts of all his hearers." The tribe, seeing that the words were alive and fearing that the man with the words would hand down untrue tales, took and killed him. Man has in all periods of his history felt a little suspicious of

words ; conscious indeed that he is the master, they the servants, but with an instinctive dread that they may turn upon him and gain the upper hand. In Greece reflection busied itself early, not only with the origin of language, but with the whole problem of the relation of language to thought. Speaking broadly, we may say that the Greek mind leaned towards the error of ascribing to words an independent existence and endowing them with a kind of vitality which they do not possess. Unlike the Romans who knew one foreign language, unlike ourselves who know so many badly, the Greeks had no other tongue to bring into comparison with their own. Owing to the absence of this knowledge, Plato himself was led into verbal fallacies from which he would otherwise have been saved, nor was it till his later years that he appears to have freed himself from that tyranny of concepts which exercised a superstitious sway over the intellect of Greece. Protests indeed made themselves heard against the prevalent mode of thought. One philosopher insisted that it is the business of a word always to mean just as much as the utterer of it wishes it to mean,—nothing more and nothing less. To proclaim his proud mastery over these obedient symbols he made use of particles as proper names ; his slaves he called ἀλλὰ μὴν and so forth, and his sons μέν and δέ. “If you do not take words too seriously,” says Plato in the *Politicus*, “you will be all the richer in wisdom as you grow older.” Words, Plato well knew, may be so handled as to take the place of thought, and we need but cast a glance down the course of Greek speculation to see that the warning was not superfluous.

The function of words in education has been as hotly debated as the place of words in the theory of knowledge. “The study of words is the basis of education” (ἀρχὴ παιδείσεως ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπισκεψίς) said Antisthenes. *Give us things, not words*, has been the constant cry of the assailants of humanistic learning. It was the motto of science against classics some thirty or forty

years ago. Classical education, we were told, has to do with mere abstractions, words and phrases; science is the way to concrete reality. If I mistake not, we no longer hear much of this bare antithesis between words and things. Words, as we all now know, are things. They are living organisms, as real as material natural products, each with its own evolutionary history. We can trace them in their growth and in the development of their structural forms, often with rigorous exactness. They are not only things, but thoughts. We follow the shifting phases of their inner life, as whole epochs of mental change are unfolded before us. The claims of classics and of science are not indeed wholly reconciled by these and similar considerations. Still the acute differences are softened. On the one hand, classics has abated something of its old pretensions; on the other, science has become much more friendly to literature. Many of its foremost champions admit that literary and linguistic training must always be the element of prime importance in education. Not less literature but more, and more varied, is what science to-day demands. This no doubt falls short of the position maintained by the classicists, still it affords a common ground for discussion, and clears the way towards a more complete understanding.

Into that discussion I do not now propose to enter. I would merely insist that, even under our traditional system, the classics have often led us by gradual ascent from the study of words to the study of literature. How many of us looking back on our own school days can recall the gradual awakening of the literary sense by the feeling for words; in the first instance, perhaps, by the lesson of precision, of exactness, in the use of words, phrases, and idiom; and, as a natural sequel to this, we came to see how and why a particular word is untranslatable, a discovery which marks a memorable stage in mental progress. Next, possibly, we became dimly aware that precision has an austere beauty of its own, the matching of the word with the thought, the saying neither too much nor too little. St. Augustine,

speaking of the great pagan orators, says, "Their words seem less to have been chosen by the artist than to have belonged by a kind of antecedent necessity to the subject." That is the sort of impression I am thinking of. Then as we grew more familiar with Greek or Latin poetry and tried to turn it into English, the illuminating truth broke in that the diction of poetry is not the diction of prose, that the words of poetry carry in their sound as well as in their sense some message that cannot be conveyed to the logical understanding. Through poetry, too, learned by heart and orally repeated came by degrees the further delight of finding the unexpected word in the inevitable place, and of recognising that "beautiful words are," as Longinus declares, "in a real and special way the light of thought." Latin verse composition, also, easily as it lends itself to ridicule, has in countless cases given a boy his first insight into the meaning of artistic work. Even in its slight beginnings it is something more than the piecing together of a dissected map, for as the words fall into their absolutely right order, the rhythmical instinct finds its satisfaction. At a later stage the attempt to recast the original English and reproduce it in a new mould of thought is a sort of creative effort, bringing with it a pleasure of its own. A simple copy of verses thus becomes a bit of a genuine human workmanship, a mode of self-expression, complete and adequate in its kind.

This old method of learning literature by gradual and indirect approaches may not be the best; undoubtedly it is not adapted to every order of mind, or to the mass of boys; it needs to be largely modified and supplemented, though not perhaps to be wholly discarded. Anyhow those of us who owe something to that intellectual nurture may be permitted to say wherein we are indebted to it. The system had this signal merit, that words and thoughts sank into the mind by absorption. The feeling of beauty was educated by a discipline, painful it is true, but the pain of which was insensibly transmuted into pleasure.

The very difficulties we had to encounter, the resistance to be overcome, gave a keener relish to the joy of mastery. Line by line, letter by letter we learned from the classics the rudiments of literature. With minds tinged by that influence we applied ourselves to the reading of English literature, and found in the mother tongue latent capacities of expression which might well have escaped us but for our early habit of seeking in English the nearest equivalent for some ancient word or idiom. Well, years, let us suppose, have gone by; facts and dates and all the niceties of grammar have slipped from the memory. You say—if I may for the moment fancy myself speaking, not to this learned audience, but to educated men who have never professed to be scholars—you say you have forgotten your Greek and Latin. You open, however, after long interval, upon some half remembered lines of Homer or Virgil, upon some fragment of a chorus of Sophocles. You read one of those great calm utterances in which ancient poetry stores up the emotion of centuries, and seeks to allay the unrest of individual feeling by merging it in the larger experience of the race. You knew the lines at school, you enjoyed their music, you felt their simple beauty; that was all. Now in a season of recollection, at some crisis of your life, they come home to you as piercing truths, charged with the fresh emotional force which has gathered round them during the years that have elapsed since you first read the lines. You find to your surprise that you have imbibed more of the spirit of the classics than you knew. Certain it is that through the portal of words and even of grammar effective entrance has been often made into the domain of literature. But the gate has been too strait, and the number of those admitted has been few in comparison with the total number of the learners. It is this which makes us pause and ask ourselves whether we are altogether on the right lines. The love of letters that is frequently so strongly marked in the boy of eleven or twelve, so markedly absent a few years later, what has become of it? Is it not that

the discouraged learner has turned into the perplexing idler, and would he not have responded to the stimulus and the charm of classics, if speedier access to the literature could have been won? Under our existing tradition books have been read in too detached portions; too much time has been spent over grammatical details; too little interest roused in the story, the biography, the play, the incident. Enough attention has perhaps not been paid even with advanced pupils to the sequence of the thought, the relation of the parts to one another, the literary structure of the whole.

What is the best way or ways, for they are many, of teaching literature, even the literature of our own language, is still an open question. Personally I am in favour of many experiments. But I incline to the belief that while all classical teaching should be imbued from the first with a literary colouring, the chief stress of the earlier instruction must, at least in the case of one ancient language, be thrown on the linguistic side of the literature. Our aim indeed should be to keep form and matter in close alliance, yet there is a stage for the pupil at which form is paramount. If it is neglected or disparaged the whole study becomes flaccid and unliterary. There is such a thing as the passive unlaborious reception of the general sense of a printed page which is valueless as education. "Ye know not," says Roger Ascham, "what hurt ye do to learning that care not for words but for matter, and so make a divorce between the tongue and the heart." Whatever may be our ultimate reforms, we must hold fast to the principle of true humanism and maintain the organic union between speech and thought, between form and substance, so that a training in literary expression may be associated with the study of the best thought on things human.

But I hasten on to the main theme of my discourse, and would ask you to turn to the larger field of classical learning. What do we there find as the salient and arresting fact? Surely this, that we are in the full swing

of a new Classical Renaissance, an era of movement and discovery which began in the last century and is now going forward with quickened impetus. Ever widening horizons are coming up. Never since the scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries set themselves to reconstruct the mind and life of classical antiquity has the sense of achievement been so great, never have the possibilities of the future seemed so limitless. In range of study and variety of materials the new Revival of Learning even surpasses the old. Art and Archaeology, Palaeography and Inscriptions, Myth and Ritual, Anthropology and Folk-lore add their witness to that of the manuscripts. The methods employed are in large measure the methods of exact science. Nay more, there is hardly a science from Geology to Photography that has not directly aided the processes of this multifarious erudition. Historic sites have been laid bare, pre-historic civilisations unearthed. The disinterred city of Cnossos, its undeciphered script, and the whole mystery and romance of that long buried world, have given a kind of imaginative lift to archaeological research. Meanwhile the papyri are filling in many gaps in our knowledge of the later development of Greek language, and in particular throw a most instructive light on the Greek of the Septuagint and of the New Testament; they are disclosing facts of law and administration, strata of society, details of home-life, of which we had no previous record. The classical texts contained in these papyri, fragmentary as they are, carry us behind our extant manuscripts, a thousand years back and more, confirming or more often disproving the conjectures of the learned. Of the lost treasures of ancient literature there is well nigh nothing that may not be resuscitated. Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, Herodas, and Bacchylides have already come to light. We have quite lately heard of some 1800 lines of Menander about to be published. And the most notable fact of all remains. The new Renaissance is predominantly a Greek Renaissance. Greatly as the

study of Roman antiquity has been deepened and extended, the main current of discovery and research flows along Greek channels, or has its source in civilisations which blended with that of Greece. In archaeology the mere mention of Crete, Troy, Tiryns, Mycenae, Olympia, Delphi, is evidence of the truth of the remark. In the light of advancing science all roads lead to Greece. "The world," says Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, "has learnt to recognise a vital growth of culture through some fifteen hundred years, which is not only the source of our own, but in a sense its parallel; and this is all Greek, for Rome is only a province of it." "Not only Europe, but the East shows the influence of Greece and the Greek language: even Palestine and Syria, Armenia, Arabia, India. Every branch of human thought owes its first inspiration to Greece. Theologians are at last learning that Christianity can only be understood in the light of contemporary Hellenism; as in philosophy, as in astronomy, mathematics, and geography, so in medicine and natural science, the modern spirit finds itself closely linked with the ancient."¹ This very day when the Harveian oration is being delivered in London, we may well recall the fact that Galen, "the first great experimental clinician," all but discovered the general circulation of the blood, and that it was the revived study of Galen that gave birth to modern anatomy. It may be added in passing that it is only by the collaboration of Greek scholarship and science that the history of the sciences, so imperfectly known, can be thoroughly explored.

But here comes in the paradox of the situation. Back to Greece, says learning. Give up Greek, say a host of educational reformers. The moment is strangely ill-chosen for this great experiment. Never has Greece been so lovingly studied or so vitally apprehended. She is admired, critically admired, as she has never been before, not only for the perfection of her literary art, but for her unexhausted contributions, philosophic and scientific, to human

¹ *Classical Review*, Feb. 1907.

thought. Alike from the point of view of learning and of culture the claims of Greek to-day are paramount. The fact is not seriously disputed; but the counter argument runs thus: "After all, the classical baggage of a cultivated man must in these days be light and portable. For the learned, Greek will continue to be a fascinating study. Even the unlearned must obtain some glimpse into the place of Greece in civilisation. What Greek poets and thinkers have said and thought must be told and retold more fully, but it must be told in English, not in Greek. For school purposes the teaching of the language must be restricted to a few pupils with special linguistic bent." Let me say at once that if this prospect is disturbing, it is not on the ground of any danger to learning. Greek learning will take care of itself. It is as indestructible as the Greek spirit; on that score we may set our minds at rest. It is not Greek that is imperilled, but English education. The pivot on which the educational issue hinges is, whether henceforth there is to be a type of school in which classics, including Greek, is a recognized part of the school curriculum. (There is no question here of Greek as a compulsory subject for all pupils.) If such a course of study, normal and well-defined, is abandoned, there is little hope, in my judgment, of Greek surviving as an element in our national culture. This is what is at stake—the very existence of classics as a humanistic discipline. We in this Association are not primarily concerned about turning out professional scholars. We are concerned in retaining as a civic possession the most potent instrument that has yet been found for the awakening and enlargement of the mind.

Greek in translations is what the reformers offer to us. What translation can and cannot do I will not now discuss. All who hear me know the limits of its capacity. For myself I believe that a new and widely diffused interest in the classics has been created by the literary skill which marks the art of translation in our own day. Translations

have a far greater future before them than has yet been realized. Many to whom the classics would otherwise remain unknown, will find in them an undreamt-of literary enjoyment, and some few will doubtless be led from the translation to the original. Still it is a mere truism to say that in every translation, however much is retained, something is lost and something is added. The new thing, if the translator is a man of genius, may even be better than the old, but in any case the impression it leaves is different ; it cannot be otherwise. And if no poetry can be adequately translated, Greek poetry least of all. There is a subtle essence in all the best Greek work—and this is true also of the prose of Plato or Demosthenes—which cannot be conveyed through a medium not its own. What is lost is not a kind of superadded charm, it is a permeating quality of mind, an atmosphere in which the whole is bathed. The English Bible is cited in disproof of this contention. It is all very well, we are told, for scholars to turn up their noses at translations, but the greatest book we have is a translation by divers hands. I hesitate to say a word about a language I do not know ; yet I imagine the Old Testament itself suffers loss in being translated out of its Hebrew form. Even if as pure literature the English version often surpasses the original, yet who can doubt that the associations of the thought are frequently discoloured by our Western speech ? Is there indeed any book that has been so much misapprehended ? But if some degree of loss is inevitable in translating Job or Isaiah, it is infinitesimally small compared to the loss sustained in translating Homer either into prose or verse. Hebrew is of simple structure ; it has a small vocabulary ; its range of expression is limited. It can depict man in his daily doings with his fellow-man ; it can express the deep outgoings of the heart towards God, and describe nature in her quiet and ordered sequences, and also in her sublimer moods. But the language of Homer with its elastic play of particles, its immense vocabulary, its delicately shaded distinctions of word and phrase, is

an organ of far greater range and flexibility. It lends itself to the most many-sided human intercourse; it reflects every movement of peace and war, every phase of thought and feeling; it is as diverse as the life it reproduces; all styles are already implicit in the rich variety of the poet's utterance. I need not pursue the contrast. Homer never has been translated and never can be, and this even apart from the music of his verse. Professor Harnack tells us of two young German students who having received a classical education were prosecuting other studies at the University. They were asked whether on looking back they would willingly give up their Homer. "No," they said, "when we read him in German he was a mere fairy tale; but to read him in Greek is the knowledge of a new world."

Those who would substitute Greek in translation for a study of the Greek language propose however, by way of amends, to keep Latin in the original. Hitherto Latin and Greek in classical schools have been studied not as languages only, but as forms of literature and culture, mutually illustrating one another. As a mere disciplinary exercise Latin apart from Greek may still remain highly effective; but divorced from Greek it is a maimed and impoverished study, cut off from its source. It cannot in isolation maintain itself on the higher plane of literary instruction. A lowering of standard is perceptible wherever, in England or elsewhere, the two studies have been disjoined. The difference is sure to be further accentuated when teachers as well as taught are ignorant of the parent literature. In deprecating this divorce as fatal to Greek and harmful to Latin, I would not suggest that Greek and Latin form a single undistinguishable whole, vaguely known as "the classics." Since the age of the Italian Renaissance Greek has been too much read with Roman eyes. The differences of the two races have been often ignored, the characteristic lines obscured. Greece and Rome are in truth a strongly contrasted pair—they became aware of it themselves—unlike

one another in their strength and in their weakness, in their political organisation and history, in their literature and in the structural expression of their thought. Take a single example. The firm and logical syntax of Latin is markedly different from the psychological syntax of Greek, with its delicate blend of intellect and emotion, responding readily to the natural movement of living speech ; a syntax in many respects so illustrative of the Greek mind. Where else, for instance, do we find a case so characteristically Greek as the genitive in its union of opposites ? Dorians and Ionians within Greece herself are not so diverse in their gifts as are Greece and Rome both in their intellectual qualities and in their influence on the world. By degrees, however, the lineaments of Greece have been disengaged and the spirit of Greece begins to stand out clear from what has been known as the "spirit of antiquity." None the less Greece and Rome must be studied together as indissolubly connected in history and as together forming the unity of ancient civilisation. The disparate elements in time coalesced, and out of these mingled influences arose that bilingual world-wide culture which through many vicissitudes and changes has been transmitted to our own day.

The mention of that culture brings me back to the remarkable article of Wilamowitz in the *Classical Review* from which I have already quoted. A scheme is there outlined for a reformed teaching of Greek, very different, I need not say, from any that aims at understanding Greece through Greekless study. His central position is this. All recent research shows that Greek influence is the dominant factor in our existing civilisation. To follow humanity in its intellectual and moral development we must study Greek. The course of instruction should be so framed as to exhibit the fertility, the variety, the ingenuity of the Greek mind in all departments of art and science, of political and philosophical reflection. For this end the literary and aesthetic side of teaching must be subordinated to the training of the historical intelligence. This will be possible

only if the language is learned rapidly—not for its own sake—and with much less grammatical detail than at present. The pupil will traverse swiftly and lightly the whole field of Hellenism in typical extracts. Attic must be deposed from its position of undue supremacy. Poetry, now in the foreground, must take a back place; history must be made more prominent; natural and physical science, philosophy and religion must claim attention. Greek so pursued will no longer be “one of the elegancies of life, but a guide to the continuity of history.” It will be found to be the basis and bond of all forms of education, scientific and religious, and a connecting link between many school studies which now stand apart. The Greek Reader he has constructed as an aid in working out this idea contains passages from all periods of Hellenism, extending from the sixth century B.C. down to the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The principle from which Wilamowitz starts—the lightening of elementary grammar, the widening of the range of authors available for beginners, the less rigid adherence to the Attic standard—all this will probably find favour with most of us. Gladly we open our door to Arrian, Lucian, Plutarch, and even to Longus and Dion of Prusa; to some for the first time, to others after a period of ill-deserved neglect. With Lucian and Plutarch those who have once made friends in youth will ever afterwards desire to keep their friendship in repair. As to the large and exhilarating programme that is here presented, it is almost ungenerous to criticise it coldly. Its breadth of outlook may at first sight seem to be the one thing needed to expand the minds both of teacher and pupil, and to vivify the study of Greek. In recent years the question has often suggested itself with insistent force, can we recover something of the old comprehensive humanism of the Renaissance? In the middle of last century there floated before the imagination of scholars the idea of a complete reconstruction of the classic past. That vision has faded away before the growth of specialized learning. The field of classics is so subdivided

that no one can pretend to master the whole. Within the domain of Greek study itself, eminent persons seem as alien to one another as if they belonged to different tribes. The ideal hope of a science of antiquity has vanished, at least for our generation. But now one of the greatest living scholars, perhaps the greatest, comes forward and proposes a certain line of reconstruction, limited indeed and practical in its scope, still designed to form a unifying idea for classical education. Greek study is to be the meeting-point of many sciences; through Greek the learner will trace in outline the course of our historic culture. I own I view the proposal with grave misgiving, and in saying so I limit myself strictly to its educational value at an early age. To the professed student of Greece, or to the historian of civilisation, the steps of the slow process by which the human mind has painfully won its way towards truth, and the part played by Greece in that development are of engrossing interest. For the maturer student, too, at the University, few courses could be imagined more enlightening than the study of Greek texts, judiciously selected, enabling him to follow to their source some of the larger principles of scientific and historical thought. But what we are more concerned with, is not specialised Greek teaching in the University, but Greek education in the school. And the method, as it appears to me, is ill-adapted to its end. Premature expansion of the mind is weakening, not fortifying. It is merely a dispersion of energy. To read a proposition of Euclid in the original may indeed set a boy thinking. The discovery that Euclid was a man, and that he wrote in Greek may be a useful and pleasurable shock—if indeed ten years hence Euclid's name survives in school circles. Beyond this, a teacher may by occasional excursions bring the youthful learner into contact with the fresh scientific mind of Greece, exploring, sounding, reconnoitring, experimenting in all directions. Similarly, art and archaeology can each throw their own side-lights, more frequent and more vivid, on the ancient world. Still literature is

one thing and the history of science, as also the science of history, is another. If Greek is to be made an all-embracing discipline, ancillary to science, its school-days are numbered. True it is that science learned to think and speak in Greek as she has seldom spoken since. But Greek science, like all science, is perishable in its content; and even were it otherwise, that content can be expressed in English or German or Esperanto. Now the Greek with which we seek to inspire young minds, is Greek of that distinctive quality which cannot be conveyed adequately through any other medium. The fortunes of Greek as liberal culture must not be bound up with the tentative efforts of Greek thought in any or all of its branches. The things of science are temporal, the things of art are eternal. Greek in the school class-room must take its stand on the supreme value of a literature in which form and matter are more perfectly fused than in any other. That position is impregnable. To say this is not to treat Greek as what is called "mere aestheticism." The literary excellence of Greek writers cannot be dissociated from the rich content of the thought, or appreciated without a full comprehension of the historical setting of the literature, and of the life, public and private, from which it sprang.

But, as I have already observed, too many learners are kept outside at the vestibule of literature. It is their case that causes disquiet. Can they obtain a readier entrance? Assuredly they can; experience proves it. The thing is being frequently done to-day. It was done in the humanist schools of Italy during the early Renaissance. Latin was there employed as the chief instrument of grammatical and linguistic discipline; and the foundation being thus laid, Greek was studied mainly for its literary content, the range of reading being surprisingly wide. The example is one to which with certain modifications we may well revert. Our Association has recommended a reform on these lines. Its report has been approved by the Headmasters' Association. The opinion of the Universities is, so far as I can gather,

favourable. In adopting this change we shall not be driven to the drastic remedies of Wilamowitz. Greek oratory will not be extruded from school reading by the pressure of miscellaneous history and science. There will still be time to read some of "the ephemeral orations of Demosthenes." Specimens of formal oratory, we are reminded, are to be found both in French and Latin. Where, however, but in Demosthenes can we find the temperate reserve, the hidden glow, the words which themselves become deeds, the λόγος which, as he himself hints, is an ἔργον? There is another and cardinal point. The early study of Greek will not be placed on the prosaic level of Wilamowitz's programme. The imaginative training afforded by the Greek poets is the first and greatest gift that Greece has in store for the youthful Hellenist, and it remains as a passport to the poetry of every other nation. Wilamowitz by no means excludes poetry, but he admits it sparingly. In my opinion the allowance of poetry should be generous. Homer above all should be taken not in sips but in copious draughts. Herbert Spencer, who seems to have regarded Homer as a fatiguing person with a kind of homicidal mania, will find few followers even among schoolboys. If the demand is to bring Greek nearer to life, more in contact with the actual thought of men, surely the world of imagination is nearer to us in youth than the hygienic principles of Hippocrates. The parting of Hector and Andromache, or the scene between Achilles and Priam, is more moving in its appeal than Heron's doctrine of the vacuum, than the physical geography of Strabo or the biological observations of Aristotle.

There is another reason against employing the most prosaic of prose authors as an introduction to Greece. The classics are now being studied, especially in our younger Universities, by sections of the population to whom hitherto they have been unknown. In our industrial centres, if anywhere, people need to be lifted out of their own surroundings to escape from the pressure of material things,

from the common cares of business or of money-making. They desire to feel the touch of poetry and imagination, the emancipating power of good literature. The feeling for beauty is there apt to be starved or stunted. Is there not place left for the creations of Greece, for the sense of beauty, for the things of the spirit? Let us see to it that in offering Greek to the schools, we do it in a way which teaches the soul to put forth her wings. One other word to these new-comers. They belong to democratic communities. The Classics are sometimes described as a feudal, privileged, undemocratic domain of learning, and Greek in particular as an abstruse culture out of the reach of common men. Of all heresies this is the worst. To one who is entering on Greek literature we may say what Pliny said to a friend who was setting out to be governor of Achaia, "*Profecturus es ad homines maxime homines.*" Yes, the Greeks are of all men the most truly human. Their great imaginative works travel along the broad thoroughfares of human life, portraying, though with infinite subtlety, the simpler human emotions and opening up a large vision of human experience. Their best prose literature is something like oral speech; it is not quite like a book. It has the ease, the fluidity, the self-adapting power of good conversation. The literary speech is freshened by drawing freely on the colloquial idiom. It has incorporated in itself much that is, in Wordsworth's phrase, "of texture between life and books." In the prose writers of Greece you feel that even on the printed page there is the warm breath of human speech, there is the air and the tone of life. Add to this the sense of progressiveness now attaching to Greek study, such as for centuries past has hardly been known outside the sphere of the physical and natural sciences. The consciousness that Greek is a living, growing, expanding subject, moving forward with the full tide of human progress, has communicated to many of the friends and teachers of Classics a buoyant hopefulness for the future.

The mystery of Hellenism remains. Hellenism is a

pervasive, penetrating influence. The mode of its working cannot be explained. It eludes us as does the secret of its permanence. Its ways are the ways of the spirit. Always going and never gone, at the moment when it seems dead it germinates afresh. It scatters vital seeds of thought wherever it passes. What will spring from that seed cannot surely be predicted. All that we know is that life-giving energy in some form will result. The manifestation of that energy differs at different periods, in different societies. People have not always got from Greece that of which they were in quest. They have gone to her for learning; they have found beauty. They have sought science; they have gained spiritual emancipation. They have studied a language; they have won an intellectual franchise. A late Roman writer said of his teacher, "He teaches more than he knows" (*plus docet quam scit*). Of Greece this is pre-eminently true—more than she knows she has taught. And if our study of Greek needs to be reformed, it is through Greek methods that the inward renewal will come, by fearless questioning of tradition, by a love of truth which is not all intellectual, but in which intellect and emotion are combined, and by that partnership of mind between teacher and taught which has given to the world the highest thought of Greece.

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THE HERITAGE OF UNREASON IN SYNTACTICAL METHOD

It is a pleasure to me to be a member of an association of scholars in this mother-land of my own speech and race, and an honour to be allowed to take part in its work.

In what I say, I beg you to think of me not merely as an investigator, but as a practical teacher as well. In connection with my Teachers' Training Classes in my University, I have recently carried young beginners half through the American preparation for college in Latin; and the *First Latin Book* which arose out of the earlier part of this work is now in use in American schools. In whatever I have to suggest in this address, I have teaching ultimately in mind.

The time at my disposal is short, the subject one that calls for many details. I must compromise, speaking at most points with great brevity. You must also pardon me if I mention names and systems without reserve. We need in Classics the same free and frank discussion that has long characterised work in Natural Science.

I

If I were to propose to you to-day that we should abandon the independent study of syntax, and adopt a system from some professor of philosophy, fitting our rules to his categories, you would hardly give me a hearing. I should urge in vain that it is the object of philosophy to determine the ultimate nature of things, including the

ultimate processes of the human mind, and that accordingly a sound syntax must be in harmony with its results. You would answer, in substance, that the history of philosophy is the history of warring schemes, and would ask to which we should attach ourselves. Further, you would probably inquire why we should give up our intellectual independence, and simply follow at the heels of this or that philosophical exploring party. Still worse would it be if I were to propose to establish a system of syntax on some philosophy a century and a quarter or a century and a half old, say that of Kant or that of Wolff. You would marvel that any one could be found who should be so blind to the methods which everywhere else rule in scientific investigation in this brilliant age.

Yet it is on systems of mood-syntax established in precisely this way that we are to-day bringing up our young people, and explaining things to one another and ourselves with a gravity worse than that of Roman augurs, because we do actually deceive ourselves and one another. The cycle of our dominant explanations was completed nearly a hundred years ago, namely in 1812; and, with the exception of three inherited errors which were worked into the scheme, it all came (directly, or by a few very early twists and turns) from the modal categories of Wolff and Kant. This I have first to show.

The Greeks reasonably named three of the moods from some power which, at least, they possessed. Thus the *Optative*—to translate by the Roman name—does have, among other powers, that of expressing a wish. On the other hand, the mood which they called the *subordinated*—*ὑποτακτική* (Latin, *subjunctivus*)—received its name, not from any power, but from the mere fact that, in the majority of cases, it was found in dependent clauses. This was a calamity of which we have not yet seen the end.

We pass now, with a long stride, to Wolff's *Ontology*. Its categories are Necessity, Possibility, and Contingency. The scheme, though the fact has escaped notice, was taken

up by a number of grammarians. If these categories covered all action and being, the moods, it was felt, must correspond to them. The complete application is made, e.g. in Meiner's *Philosophische und Allgemeine Sprachlehre*, 1781. The moods are defined exactly in the Wolffian terms: the Indicative as the mood of Necessity, the Subjunctive as the mood of Possibility or Contingency. Harris, in his *Hermes*, 1751, had already dealt with the Subjunctive in a similar way, explaining it as the mood of the contingent. Thus a purpose is expressed by the Subjunctive, according to Harris, because "an End, or Final Cause . . . in human Life is always a Contingent, and may perhaps never happen in despite of all our Forethought."

Wolff's philosophy was succeeded by the philosophy of Kant. In the *Critique of Pure Reason*, 1781, Kant laid down three categories of modality, namely Existence, Possibility, and Necessity. In 1792 Hasse, a schoolmaster in Kant's own town, applied the categories to the verb, making the Indicative the mood of Existence, the Subjunctive the mood of Possibility, and the Imperative the mood of Necessity. In 1801 Gottfried Hermann, in the book entitled *De Emendanda Ratione Grammaticae Graecae*, while abusing Hasse as not understanding Kant, adopted his idea of applying Kant's scheme, and carried it still further by making use of the philosophical terms "subjective" and "objective," which had played so large a part in Kant's system. He defines the moods as follows: The Indicative is the mood of Existence; the Subjunctive is the mood of Objective Possibility—i.e. of Possibility *per ipsarum rerum condicionem*; the Optative is the mood of Subjective Possibility—i.e. of Possibility as thought (*cogitata*); the Imperative is the mood of Subjunctive Necessity; while the Verbal in *-reos* forms the mood of Objective Necessity.

Let me say in passing that the scheme did not even fit Kant's categories; for by Necessity Kant meant that which necessarily, and so always, *exists*. This is very far from being the force of the Imperative. Neither did Kant mean

by Subjective and Objective what Hermann meant. But I proceed with our exposition.

Since, continues Hermann, the Subjunctive expresses that which is possible *per ipsarum rerum condicionem*, it cannot stand by itself, but must be attached to a main sentence, which alone is competent to show what the *condicio rerum* is. Hence it must always be dependent, even where it appears to be independent. Thus, τί ποιῶ, "what shall I do?" stands for ἀμφισβητῶ τί ποιῶ, "I am in doubt what to do," and ἴωμεν, "let us go," stands for ἄγε, ἵνα ἴωμεν, "act, in order that we may go." Here Hermann has combined with his metaphysical scheme the inherited error of the Greeks, which made the Subjunctive the mood of subordination, and has incorporated with it the Renaissance error of resorting freely, without specific evidence, to the theory of ellipsis.

In 1807 and 1808 Matthiä, in two Greek Grammars, started from Hermann's definition of the Optative as the mood of Possibility as thought (*cogitata*), but threw the emphasis upon the latter side, and so defined the mood directly as the *mood of thought*. The Subjunctive also, to his mind, expressed thought as against reality; the difference between the two moods being that the Subjunctive expresses the act more definitely, as depending on external circumstances, the Optative less definitely. Both moods, as you see, are now moods of *thought*, with a difference only in the degree of definiteness. Matthiä also hinted, as Kühner afterwards expressly taught, that the Optative, in accordance with its secondary terminations, is merely a Subjunctive of the past.

In 1808 Dissen, in his *De Temporibus et Modis Verbi Graeci*, started from the two novel schemes which he now had before him. The Optative he made the mood of a *conscious* thought—a refinement on Matthiä. For the Subjunctive, taking Hermann's phrase "dependence upon the nature of things," *per ipsarum rerum condicionem*, as his point of departure, he emphasised the side of dependence,

and so made this mood the expression of Conditionality, working into his definition also an old conception of Doubt or Uncertainty, which had been associated by earlier writers with a different mood, namely the Optative, in its potential power. All Subjunctive constructions must, according to Dissen, be conditional. The Indicative becomes for him, correspondingly, the mood of *Unconditionality*.

Four years later, in 1812, Thiersch published two Greek Grammars. The mood-system is made up from Matthiä and Dissen. The Optative expresses an act as merely thought (*als bloss gedacht*), as an idea, a conception (*als Vorstellung*). Thus a general condition in the past is expressed by the Optative because the various acts did not really take place together, and the operation of *putting* them together is a purely mental one. This is from Matthiä. For the Subjunctive, Thiersch ingeniously compounds all the phrases of Dissen's discussion, and (making it the expression of that which requires something outside itself on which to base itself) defines it as the mood of the *dependent*, the *conditioned*, the *uncertain*. Thus in *ἵνα*, "let us go," the Subjunctive, says Dissen, is necessary, because the going *depends* upon the will of the person addressed.

From Greek the scheme was applied to Latin. Thus Reisig, in his lectures on Latin Grammar, last given in 1827, and published by Haase in 1839, says that there are three forms of being: Reality, Possibility, and Necessity, and three corresponding moods in Latin: Indicative, Subjunctive, and Imperative; and that Possibility may be thought either objectively, as resting upon the relations of things, or subjectively, as in the mind of the speaker. This is Hermann's scheme, pure and simple. Zumpt, in his Latin Grammar, 1818, made the Subjunctive the mood of Thought, of Conception (*Vorstellung*). Schulz's Latin Grammar, 1825, says that the Indicative is the mood of reality, while the Subjunctive is used when one expresses the contents of a sentence not as a fact, but merely as an idea. So, *e.g.*, in indirect questions, expressions of purpose or result,

wishes, concessions, or conclusions, one is dealing, not with facts, but with conceptions; as in "I told him that I had gone to church" (*dass ich in der Kirche gewesen sei*), in which for the moment I regard my being in church not as a fact (*Thatsache*), but as the object of a mental activity, and so as a conception (*Vorstellung*). Similarly Kühner, 1840, and Madvig, 1844. Madvig says, for example, that in *Titius currit ut sudet*, "Titius runs to get in a sweat," the Subjunctive is used because the sweating is a mere conception. This is Hermann modified by Matthiä. Ramshorn, 1824, made the Indicative the mood of Reality, the Subjunctive the mood of the Conditioned, and the Imperative the mood of Necessity. This is a mixture of Hermann and Dissen. I am unable, then, to agree with Golling, who (in his very interesting Introduction to the Syntax of the *Historische Lateinische Grammatik*, 1904) says that the grammars of Zumpt and Ramshorn rest upon no philosophical theorems, but upon grammatically scientific foundations. And I need mention only this fact, together with the fact that Golling regards Hermann as the "true reformer" of grammar, to show how little the real history of nineteenth-century thinking about the moods has been understood. I trust that I have already successfully unravelled the principal threads of the web. But it had not been done before, except in a recent paper of my own.¹

From Greek and Latin, the metaphysical conception of the moods was transferred to the grammars of the modern languages. Thus Etzler, in his *Erörterungen*, 1826, make the German Subjunctive express *das Denken als solches*. All dependent clauses, he says, contain this idea. Thus the clause of Result is in the Subjunctive because the very notion of the rise of something out of something is a *conception*.

¹ A somewhat fuller paper, entitled "A Century of Metaphysical Syntax," read at the Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904, and printed in vol. iii. of the *Proceedings* (Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., Boston, 1906).

Thus again Becker, in his *Organismus der Sprache als Vorbereitung zur deutschen Grammatik*, 1827, says that the German Subjunctive expresses an act as "thought" (*ein vorgestelltes*), whether it be in itself real or only thought (*sei es an sich wirklich, oder vorgestellt*). Jakob Grimm similarly defined the German Subjunctive, and Mätzner, in his English Grammar, the English Subjunctive, as the mood of Thought, of Conception (*Vorstellung*). The idea that the Imperative was the mood of Necessity passed away; but otherwise the metaphysical system, in one or another of its forms, won in the first half of the last century practically complete assent, and is to-day still the dominant system.

Now the chances are very great that it is unsound. No one would to-day accept the categories of either Wolff or Kant as final, either for life in general or for the moods in particular. These doctrines originated in a false method of procedure, and were founded upon a passing system of thought. They were turned and twisted into the shape in which we have seen them, not by a series of corrections founded on observation, but by a manipulation of phrases, or even of emphases in phrases. It would be little short of a miracle if, begun so radically wrongly, and developed so radically wrongly, they had nevertheless worked themselves free from error, and now really reflected the truth. For the moment I shall rest content with this condemnation, and turn again to my introductory statement that the cycle of ideas which had been brought into fashion before the year 1812 (mainly in the eleven years preceding that date) are the dominant ideas of the present day—in other words, that in syntax, as in no other field of science, we are content with the achievements of a hundred years ago; as if, in one of the most delicate of all possible subjects, the investigation of the processes of human thought as exhibited in speech, these men had been so marvellously ahead of their times.

Metaphysical syntax, as we have now seen, set up the following as the forces of the Subjunctive or Optative, all

of which forces were also assigned, singly or in groups, to the Subjunctive in Latin, German, English, etc. : Contingency, Conditionality, Uncertainty or Doubt, Indefiniteness (the Optative expressing more, the Subjunctive less), Subjectivity (or, in other designations, Thought, Conception, the Idea as opposed to Reality), and Dependency.

I spent an interesting evening of strife this last summer with a lecturer in classics in the University of Oxford. His explanation of the Subjunctive and Optative in Greek was that they expressed an act as *in the mind* of the speaker or writer, the Subjunctive more definitely, the Optative less definitely. I felt as if I were assisting at the centenary of Matthiä ; for this is the doctrine which he published in 1807. I made the acquaintance this summer of an able young student of the University of Cambridge, who is devoting himself especially to classics. I asked him his explanations of certain common constructions in Greek and Latin, and then borrowed from him the books from which he had learned them, in the school from which he had come. I will read some extracts :

Mansfield, *Syntax to a Primer of Greek Grammar*, new edition (Rivingtons, 1897) :

“ § 76. A verb is said to be in a mood when it shows by its form whether the action is regarded as existing independently or as conceived (more or less distinctly) in the mind.

“ § 78. The Conjunctive has two forms, (1) the Near or Primary Conjunctive (sometimes called Subjunctive), which is used to express conceptions nearer and more distinct to the speaker's mind : as *ἐὰν ἔλθῃ*, *if he comes* ; (2) the Remote or Historic Conjunctive (sometimes called Optative), which expresses conceptions further removed and less distinct : as *εἰ ἔλθοι*, *if he were to come*.”

This is again Matthiä.

W. Smith and T. D. Hall, *A Grammar of the Latin Language*, 8th edition, 1876 :

“ § 421. The Subjunctive mood expresses a thing not as a *fact*, like the Indicative, but merely as a *conception* of the mind. Hence the Subjunctive mood is used to indicate (a) an hypothesis ; (b) doubt or uncertainty (including *indirect*

questions); (c) a wish; (d) purpose or result; (e) a proposition borrowed from another, and not adopted by the writer (*narratio obliqua*).

"§ 422. The Subjunctive mood is always dependent upon either (1) some hypothetical Conjunction; or (2) some antecedent sentence or clause to which it is subjoined (*subjungo*), and which deprives it of the character of a positive ('objective') assertion.

"*Obs.* The antecedent member of the sentence is very often not expressed, but left to be understood.

"§ 497. *Dum, whilst*, is construed with the Indicative; *dum, until*, with the Indicative or Subjunctive, according as a simple fact or a purpose is intended.

dum sciero, until I have learned.

"*Note.* The writer regards it as certain that he will learn."

Here we have Matthiä's view of the Subjunctive as the mood of conception, along with the old Greek error that the Subjunctive is always dependent, and the erroneous Renaissance doctrine of enormously extended ellipsis, as worked into his Kantian scheme by Hermann. I find no weaker word than "monstrous" for a condition of classical science and method that makes it possible for students, in the twentieth century, to be brought up upon such a farrago of ancient error. But do not think that I am speaking of England alone. I am speaking of the Continent and America as well.

As regards the explanation of the Subjunctive with *dum*, it is the common one which was adopted, as a detail, in the syntax of the metaphysical school. It also, since there is a certain resemblance between a *dum*-clause and an *antequam*-clause, sometimes carried with it the explanation that the Subjunctive in the latter is due to the idea of purpose. This matter will come up later.

I add a few more specimens from our grammars.

Allen, *An Elementary Latin Grammar* (Clarendon Press, 1901), § 196:

"The Subjunctive denotes actions which are thought of as happening, whereas the Indicative denotes those which actually do happen. Hence,

"*Rule.* The Indicative expresses a fact, the Subjunctive a conception."

St. John Parry, *An Elementary Greek Grammar* (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1900), § 150 :

“The Moods of the Finite Verb.

“The Predicate may stand in certain relations of thought to the speaker : (a) as a fact, (b) as a supposition.”

Gildersleeve and Lodge, *Latin Grammar*, 3rd ed., 1896, § 255 :

“The Subjunctive mood represents the predicate as an idea, as something merely conceived in the mind (abstractions from reality).”

The last phrase is from a book of the metaphysical school, Bäumlein's *Untersuchungen*, 1846.

Carpenter, *English Grammar*, new edition (Macmillan, New York, 1906) :

“The Subjunctive mood represents statements as thoughts or conceptions, which may or may not have a basis in reality, or which are obviously not conceivable as facts.”

Fasnacht, *Macmillan's French Course, Third Year*, p. 62 :

“The Subjunctive mood (is used) if the Principal Sentence implies that the action expressed in the dependent clause is merely conceived in the mind of the speaker.”

This is Matthiä. And again :

“In the sentence ‘son père veut qu'il vienne,’ ‘his father wishes that he should come,’ the contingency (eventual fact) of his coming is in the speaker's mind, subjoined to the will of another (his father).”

The word “contingency” has come down from the Wolffian school of syntax, the phrase “in the speaker's mind” from the school of Matthiä-Hermann-Kant, and the phrase “subjoined to” from the old Greek error about the Subjunctive. The word “will” belongs to an entirely different conception, to which we shall presently come.

The corresponding *German Course, Second Year*, by Fasnacht, has in part similar ideas. Thus on p. 115 we read :

“The Subjunctive mood may be used in Consecutive, Comparative, and Final clauses . . . to denote an expected (or

unexpected) result, an *uncertain contingency*, or a *purpose* not accomplished. . . . The alternative between the use of the Subjunctive or Indicative depends entirely on the *sense expressed or implied* in the principal clause—i.e. the *probability or uncertainty* of the expected result or contingency.”

Similarly Schmalz, in the *Syntax of the Latin Grammar* by Stolz and Schmalz, 1885, started with Subjectivity, and from this got Dependency, Inner Connection, etc. In the third edition, 1900, he starts with a *fictive* power (only another name for our too familiar *Vorstellung*), and from this gets Subjectivity, which he then applies to account for the various dependent uses of the Subjunctive. Similarly again, Waldeck, in his *Practical Guide to Instruction in Latin Grammar*, 1892, and Methner, in his *Investigation of the Theory of the Latin Moods and Tenses, with especial regard to use in Instruction*, put all uses of the Subjunctive under *Vorstellung*. Gerth also, in the *Syntax* of the new edition, just now completed, of Kühner's Greek Grammar, defines the Optative as the mood of *Vorstellung*.

And now may I add (setting aside the title of my paper) that I regret to see the use still made of certain of these old phrases, though they play no vital part, in the Latin grammars of three English scholars whom I regard as my colleagues in the attempt to bring about better things? They are those of Postgate, Sonnenschein, and Sloman. Postgate, after giving the headings “A. Subjunctive of Desire” and “B. Subjunctive of Imagination,” adds: “In A and B something is put forward as a *Thought* or Feeling, not as a fact.” Sonnenschein says: “In Latin the Subjunctive and Optative have been united so as to form a single *Subjective Mood*, expressing Will and Thought.” And Sloman says: “Speaking broadly, the Subjunctive presents a statement as a *thought* or *idea*, as opposed to a realised fact.” The phrases which I have emphasised should, I believe, be wholly dropped from our grammars. I regret, too, that Goodwin, whose service lay, as he has himself expressed it, in “treating Greek syntax by the light of common sense,” has followed

the metaphysical tradition from Disson which came down through writer after writer, and makes all Subjunctive constructions, even those with $\pi\rho\iota\nu$ and $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, conditional. Nor has Goodwin, even in his negations, escaped the influence of the general method of the metaphysical grammarians. They aimed to find some one idea which was present in all uses of a given mood. Goodwin says that it is impossible to find, *e.g.*, a meaning which should cover all the uses of the Optative, or a meaning which should cover all the uses of the Indicative, and rests content with this. The statement is perfectly true, but it lays down no sound and helpful conception of the nature of language. It constitutes no advance, but only an arrest. Neither did Goodwin, until the last editions of his *Greek Grammar* and *Greek Moods and Tenses*, begin with independent sentences, though no one can question that human speech did begin with them. I regret, similarly, that Allen-Hadley and Goodell in their *Greek Grammars*, Bevier in his *Brief Greek Syntax*, Monro in his *Homeric Grammar*, and even Thompson in his recent *Greek Grammar*, which especially aims at introducing modern points of view into syntax, should have continued the same tradition from Disson in making all relative clauses the Subjunctive conditional. Most of all is it to be regretted that even Delbrück, to whom, more than to any one else, we owe the spread of sounder views, was unable wholly to escape the inheritance of the metaphysical school. Even in his last syntactical work, *Der Germanische Optativ im Satzgefüge*, he adopts *Vorstellung* as his regular explanation of the Optatives (in the older terminology, Subjunctives) in the Germanic languages, abandoning the very method—the psychological and comparative—of which he had been the leading advocate. But these last matters will be seen more clearly in the light of the constructive part of my address.¹

¹ [This part was not read by Professor Hale, but it is hoped that it will shortly be accessible to members of the Association.]

Miss J. E. HARRISON

THE PILLAR AND THE MAIDEN

My friends have brought against me of late a somewhat serious charge. They tax me with some lack of reverence for the Olympian gods; for Apollo, for Athena, nay even for Father Zeus himself. My interest, I am told, is unduly focused on ghosts, bogies, fetiches, pillar-cults. I pay to them and to such like the attention properly due to the reverend Olympians. Worse still, in matters of ritual I prefer savage disorders, Dionysiac orgies, the tearing of wild bulls, to the ordered and stately ceremonial of Panathenaic processions. In a word, my heart, it would seem, is not in the right place.

I had an uneasy misgiving that my critics were sound; so I spent a good deal of the Long Vacation in searching out my spirit. When you were good enough to ask me to read a paper before you, I felt it was a golden opportunity, not to justify my position—that may be impossible—but to submit an *apologia pro haeresi mea*, or at least to tell you how it came about.

Last summer I found myself standing at sunset before the north façade of the Cathedral of Our Lady at Chartres. Suddenly my eye was caught by something that seemed oddly familiar, yet remote. Instantly my mind flew back three thousand years, to Crete. *Consciously*, I do assure you, I was not thinking of Crete or archaeology. It was one of those amazing sunsets whose magical beauty forbids articulate thinking; yet at the accidental sight of an architectural feature, up from my archaeological subconscious

self surged Crete and pillar-cults. High up on the north façade I had seen, I was sure, a pillar-shrine.¹

Four slender columns support a roof. This is the shrine; and it encloses, not the expected Saint or Bishop, but a Pillar—a Pillar surely of great sanctity, else why does it need a shrine? The central pillar is far larger than the four which support the roof, and architecturally it is superfluous.

Further search showed that this pillar-shrine did not stand alone. On the north façade were a whole series, and some adorned the outside of the apse.²

Probably while I have been describing these pillar-shrines, the minds of many of you have flown not to Crete but to Olympia, to the pillar of Oinomaos, which, I confess, when first at Chartres I had forgotten. Pausanias says³: “What the Eleans call the pillar of Oinomaos is as you go from the great altar to the sanctuary of Zeus. On the left there are four pillars with a roof over them (τέσσαρες δὲ εἰσιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κλῖνες καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὄροφος).” “The structure,” Pausanias goes on, “has been erected in order to protect a wooden pillar which is decayed by time.”

You are thinking, “This is all very well, a very interesting analogy; but we *know* what the pillar at Olympia was. It was a Pillar of the House of Oinomaos, a local hero with a local cult. But what evidence is there of a pillar-cult at Chartres?”

Pass within the Cathedral, through the North Porch, sacred always to the worship of the Virgin. To the left of the high altar, next to the sacristy, is a shrine, more hallowed by a living devotion than any other of the manifold sanctities of the place;⁴ more than the miraculous Voile de Marie, more even than the black image of Notre Dame Sous Terre; and that is the shrine before you.⁵

¹ Slide 1: sketch from north façade, Chartres.

² Slides 2 and 3: north façade of the Cathedral and view of pillar-shrines from roof.

³ V. 20. 6.

⁴ See Mr. Cecil Headlam, *Chartres*, p. 207

⁵ Slide 4: chapel of La Vierge du Pilier.

The chapel of La Vierge du Pilier, the chapel of the Pillar and the Maiden, is crowded with offerings, lamps, tapers, votive hearts. They may be votive to Our Lady, herself here the lineal descendant of the Druidical *Virgo Paritura*; but if you want forty days' indulgence for your sins, it is not the hem of the Virgin's robe, but the Pillar that you must kiss.

This cult is of immemorial antiquity. The actual pillar is a fragment of the ancient *jubé*, and was set up only in 1806; but happily we can trace the devotion to a pillar back to 1608, when it was already ancient. Rouillard, writing at that date, says: "L'affluence y est si commune, et la dévotion si grande que la colonne de pierre se voit cavée des seuls baisers des personnes dévotes et catoliques."¹

A few months later the Pillar and the Maiden drew me back to Chartres. The great festival of Notre Dame du Pilier is in September, beginning on the eighth and lasting through the octave. As always with primitive festivals, the accompaniment is a week-long fair. From all the country round the mothers bring their babies, and camp out on the great Cathedral steps. The shrine was all aflame with votive tapers; there was much trafficking in holy cakes and pictures and images. But the end came at last, and the end was beautiful. The octave closed with evensong in the Cathedral, and the procession of La Vierge du Pilier. After evensong a great dignitary preached a foolish, pompous sermon. But, the sermon ended, almost in a moment everything changed and the real business began—the worship of the Maiden. I had noticed that the side aisles were thronged with young girls all in blue, with long white veils. As the sermon ended they began to sing a hymn to Mary, set to a childish tune. As they sung they fluttered together, guarded by nuns, to the chapel aisle; they formed into procession, each with a lighted taper. Down they went into the crypt to visit Notre Dame Sous Terre; up again to take their station at last before the

¹ Quoted by Mr. Headlam, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

Maiden of the Pillar. That procession was a lovely thing to see, and to hear—the white veils, the girls, their tremulous voices, the moving, flickering lights in the dim Cathedral; it was all so frail, and young, and virginal. The priests were just nowhere; of course there were a few of them trudging heavily at the head of the procession, and the Bishop did the censuring, but they did not really count. It was the old pagan thing back again, the maidens worshipping the Maid—their Maid. My matriarchal soul was glad within me.

It was such a worship as was paid by the school children at Ostia to Diana.¹ It was such a worship as the Maiden Timarete paid to the Maid Artemis. Pardon the thrice familiar words² :—

Maid of the Mere, Timarete here brings
Before she weds, her cymbals, her dear ball
To thee a Maid, her maiden offerings :
Her snood, her maiden dolls, their clothes and all.
Hold, Leto's child, above Timarete
Thine hand, and keep her virginal, like thee.

At the close, when the maidens, standing round the shrine, had sung their last hymn to the Maid, the congregation pressed round to kiss the Pillar, and all was done.

At Chartres then we have the Pillar and the Maiden, a living instance, you will grant me, of an aneikonic and an eikonic cult subsisting together side by side. What is their relation? What their significance? What in the world have they to do with the question of Olympian religion? Let us go to Crete, the great home of pillar-cults.

The signet-ring³ before you takes us there. A worshipper stands before a great pillar; behind it is a shrine with sacred tree and smaller pillar, surmounted by a table. The pillar-cults of Crete are, thanks to Dr. Arthur Evans, so well known

¹ Slide 5 : wall-painting from Ostia.

² *Anth. Pal.*, vi. 280 : τὰς τε κόρας, λιμῶντι, κόρα κόρα, ὡς ἐπιμυῖς, ἀνθετο.

³ Slide 6 : Cretan gem, *J.H.S.*, 1901, p. 170, fig. 48.

that I should not so much as mention them here, but that I think their significance has been in some ways missed.

Old books on Greek religion usually begin with a chapter, brief and unsatisfactory, on aneikonic cults. Then we pass to the Olympians. The orthodox view is that aneikonism and eikonism represent two stages of development, a lower and a higher. The unhewn stone, we are told, the tree trunk, the rude image, was gradually transformed by the shaping hand of the artist, till it grew to perfect human form. It is so easy to talk like this in a lecture; I am sure I have done it myself. It sounds so plausible, but is it how this really went? Of course the old herms *did* have heads put to them, but this was usually at a later stage, when mental eikonism was well established.

My view, to state it crudely and broadly, is this. Aneikonism and eikonism represent, not so much two stages of development, but rather two tendencies in the human mind, alien always, hostile often. Eikonism is a religious phase, higher perhaps sometimes than the lowest aneikonism, but infinitely lower, lower religiously—I do not say artistically, or even morally—than the highest aneikonism. Let us look into facts and examine the relation between aneikonism and eikonism.

First, what is the eikon to the god? It is, I think, not a development out of his aneikonic figure, but a votive offering, an *agalma*, usually placed *on* his aneikonic pillar.

The pillar-shrine of Chartres¹ has a gable roof to let the rain and snow of the north slide off. The shrines of Crete and Libya, when roofed at all, have flat roofs. Note one result: they have become altar-tables. One supports three cups for libation, the other a *liknon* or offertory-basket. The pillar-god is his own altar; the offering is put on himself. This continued down to late days. In the next slide you see a *liknon* full of fruits placed *on* a sacred pillar.²

¹ Slide 7: pillar-shrine of Chartres, Libyan and Cretan altar-tables.

² Slide 8: Hellenistic relief in Vienna Museum. *Annual B.S.A.*, x. p. 145, fig. 2.

But you can offer to the god not only fruits and cups of drink : there is something else that pleases him best of all.

In the next slide we see Zeus as a pillar-god.¹ What would old Zeus like best of all? He is very human; he has no objection to having his portrait taken and placed on his sacred pillar. It is his *agalma*.² Sometimes the portrait supersedes the god—the pillar-god sinks to be a pedestal for his own portrait; but never at Chartres, and not so often as we are apt to think in Greece.

To the god then the *eikon* is not a development, but a votive offering. To the worshipper it is not an object of worship, but an illustration of his own thought.

In the familiar Lion Gate of Mycenae³ we all know now that the column guarded by the lions is a divinity. The Mycenaean always knew that. But what sort of a divinity? The next slide explains.⁴ Side by side we have pillar-shrine and *eikon*. The Cretan gem-engraver is not content with worshipping sheer divinity, he wants to *know* in whom he has believed, and for him it is the Mountain Mother with her wild lions—he has turned a vague pillar-numen into a thinkable *θεός*.

The Greek was by nature a confirmed, habitual eikonist ; he loved to realise, visualise. Another nation, not surely less religious, knew that its gods took no delight in such *agalmata*. That nation was content to conceive its god, the illimitable power that animates sky and sun and moon, as dwelling in its Bethel, a rude stone or a trinity of stones.⁵ That nation knew that, though morally and artistically eikonism might be an advance, religiously it was a set-back. The ordinance of that nation's god was, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image."

¹ Slide 9 : eikonic Zeus, amphora, *B.M.*, F 331, *Classical Review*, vol. xvii. p. 271.

² Slide 10 : eikonic Zeus crater, *B.M.*, F 278. *Classical Review*, vol. xvii. p. 272.

³ Slide 11 : Lion Gate of Mycenae.

⁴ Slide 12 : Cretan gem, *B.S.A.*, vii., fig. 9.

⁵ Slide 13 : Phoenician cippus. Baetyl triad.

Now sometimes the eikon keeps its place, performs its proper function, is felt to be a votive offering, an illustration, not an object of worship. Such was in the main the case with the god Hermes. On a terra-cotta relief¹ we have the two forms side by side, the herm of worship and the human eikon. Perhaps *we* are most familiar with our Homeric Olympian Hermes, our goodly young messenger-god with the golden staff and the winged sandals. But however careless we are we can scarcely forget, and even literature reminds us, that the Hermes of actual worship was a herm.

It was the mutilation of images such as these that raised even educated Athens to a frenzy of fear. Do you suppose they would have cared a serious jot if some one had knocked down or mutilated the Hermes of Praxiteles, a mere eikon? Not they.

The slide before you² shows Hermes half eikonised, but a late bronze patera³ shows indeed the eikon Hermes and his many attributes—the artist is bent on telling all he knows about the god—but behind, surmounted by cock and tortoise, is the genuine old divine pillar.

I could show you a multitude of pillar-gods, more or less eikonic: Dionysus, the Dioscuri, the Charites, Apollon Agnieus. But I must pass now at once to the other face of the truth. Eikonism illustrates, but it also obscures. Eikonism, making a human picture, begets a human story; it generates mythology. Mythology, by its human interest, tends to obscure divinity.

Take Atlas.⁴ We all know that Atlas was a pillar. Which of us remembers that he was a pillar-god of the old order that came before Zeus, the old Sky-gods, the Ouraniones, the Titans? Which of us remembers that he

¹ Slide 14 : the Hermes and herm. Hellenistic relief.

² Slide 15 : Herm and tree. Conze, *Heroen und Göttergestalten*, Tafel 69, 2.

³ Slide 16 : Hermes aneikonic and eikonic (bronze patera).

⁴ Slide 17 : zodiacal light-pillar.

was the husband of Selene, the father of Hesperos, the Hyads and the Pleiads? How should we remember, when mythologist and literary eikonist have been at work in their wicked, magical way, giving to these old Sky-potencies human shape and setting; when Euripides has filled our hearts with longing for—

The strand of the Daughters of the Sunset,
The Apple-tree, the singing and the gold;
Where the mariner must stay him from his onset,
And the red wave is tranquil as of old;
Yea, beyond that Pillar of the End,
That Atlas guardeth, would I wend.¹

The spell of it is half unconscious, no doubt. Atlas *has* and holds the Pillar, he no longer *is*. How should a plain man go on worshipping his plain Pillar-god with that sort of Siren singing in his ears?

Atlas, Pillar-god of the west: but which of us remembers that the Pillar-god of the east is *Prometheus*?² We all of us know, of course, that Prometheus was a god. Sophocles³ is explicit:

ἐν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς

Τιτὰν Προμηθεύς.

Now watch the eikonist, literary and artistic, at work: compare the vase-painting before you with the account of Hesiod.⁴

And Atlas the broad heaven
By harsh necessity upholds, with head
And tireless hands—hard by the Hesperids
Clear singing at earth's verge; such was the lot
That Zeus the counsellor ordained. There too
Wily Prometheus did he bind with bonds
That galled, midway a pillar, and he set
A great winged eagle on to gorge his liver
Immortal.

¹ Eur. *Hipp.*, 742-747, trans. by Mr. Gilbert Murray.

² Slide 18: Cyrenaic kylix. Vatican, Gerhard, *Vasenbilder*, p. 86.

³ Soph. *Oed. Col.*, 55.

⁴ Hes. *Theog.*, 517-522 (ἔησε δ' ἀλκυονίδῃσι Προμηθεΐα πικυλάβουλον
δεσμοῖς ἀργαλίοισι μέσον δια κίων' ἐλάσσας).

We know it so well, we miss the absurdities. I scarcely know which is in the worse mythological muddle, Hesiod or the vase-painters. Both know that Atlas and Prometheus belong somehow together, and that one or both have connection with pillars and supporting the heavens. But the eikonist has been at work turning divine pillars into men, and then inventing stories why men had to do as a punishment the work of pillars. Hesiod, being educated and orthodox, has to work in the will of Zeus, for which the vase-painter cares nothing. But he simply revels in retributive torments; he gives poor Atlas a snake to bite him, just in the tender part of his back, and he puts a little fire under Prometheus, the fire-god, making it difficult for him to sit down. Forgetting that Prometheus *is* the pillar, though he remembers it about Atlas, he ties him to a pillar which supports, or rather slants down ominously under the east end of the heaven. He sets the eagle pecking at his immortal liver, as if you could possibly support the heavens under circumstances so complex! Further reproducing a convention he does not understand, behind Prometheus he sets the zoomorphic eikon of Prometheus, the eagle, on his aneikonic form, the pillar. Note also that the vase-painter, like the present speaker perhaps, simply has pillars on the brain. He positively sets a pillar in the exergue.

I pass to my last instance, Odysseus.¹ We all know how Odysseus, πολυμήχανος, πολύτλας, was bound to the mast to escape the Sirens' singing. Bound to the mast—a curious mast indeed, no mast, a pillar—he stands, not on a ship, but in the depths of the sea.

Dare we think it? At least we cannot forget that he tarried long and seemed much at home in—

The island in whose bounds a Goddess dwells,
Daughter of Atlas of the guileful spells,
Who holds the lofty pillars of the earth
And heaven apart, and knows the deep sea-wells.²

¹ Slide 19, black-figured lekythos, Athens. Odysseus bound to the pillar.—*J.S.H.*, xiii, plate 1. ² *Od.*, i. 52, trans. by Prof. Mackail.

Kalypso, daughter of the pillar-god Atlas—was she to Odysseus kin as well as kind?

Did time avail, I could say much more of Odysseus, who, besides being a human archer and a wanderer, was also a sky-and-pillar god who went to sea.

Returning to Chartres, to the Pillar and the Maiden, may I resume? When I first saw the kissing of the pillar I confess that my Anglican, nay my Protestant soul recoiled. I caught myself humming automatically, not audibly, hymns about "the heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone." Further reflection made me see that the Pillar and the Maiden stood not for one superstition superseded by another, a fetich surmounted by a doll, but for two deep-down tendencies of the human mind, which go, it would seem, always to the making of religion, but are not, I think, equally religious: the Pillar for aneikonism, the Maiden for eikonism. Further I began to see that my own deep inward dissatisfaction with Olympian religion rose from the fact that, while developing and expressing to the full the eikonic element, it disallowed the aneikonic. Not my dissatisfaction alone, otherwise I might well have disputed it. Professor Ramsay has called the Olympians "an idle, superfluous celestial hierarchy."¹ Mr. Gilbert Murray writes, "The Homeric religion is not really a religion at all. The twelve Olympians represent an enlightened compromise made to suit the convenience of a federation."² With the "twelveness" of the Olympians, with the Olympian *system*, I have here nothing to do, though it raises most interesting ethnographical problems which we hope Professor Ridgeway will solve. The secret of my discontent lies deeper, and it is that each several well-accredited Olympian is inadequate because he is not a god, but an anthropomorphic *eikon* of a god. I say advisedly the accredited Olympians; for the half Olympians, Demeter, Dionysus, Eros, are more than eikons,

¹ *Dict. of the Bible*, "Religion of Greece."

² *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 235.

they are life-spirits, "Things that are," and with them I wage no war.

What is eikonism? What does it do? Eikonism takes the vague unknown fearful thing, and tries to picture it, picture it as known, as distinct, definite—something a man can think about and understand—something that will think about and understand him—something as far rationalised as man himself. The vague *something* becomes a particular *some-one*; to use a modern philosophical jargon, eikonism *pragmatizes* the divine god. Out of the terror and emptiness of the Absolute, or rather its savage inchoate equivalent, men take and fashion just what they can realise and use. Having made the vague something into a definite intelligible *some-one*, articulate and distinct, they give him a life-story and provide him with human relations—eikonism generates immediate mythology. For mythology is only, like eikonism, the attempted expression of the unknown in terms of the known; it usually obscures rather than illuminates religion.

Seeing the god clearly, discretely, segregating him completely as an individual, giving him characteristic attributes, eikonism tends inevitably to polytheism, lands us, in conjunction, of course, with other causes, in Olympianism. That eikonism, when it takes on, as with the Greeks, the form of anthropomorphism, has civilising tendencies, no one will deny. It tends to expurgate the cruder monstrosities, to eliminate vague terror; human gods tend to be humane; but how partial and precarious the process, how liable to swift corruption, the Olympians themselves witness. Its great advance is artistic.

Turn to aneikonism. Aneikonism does not make its gods, it finds them—finds them in the life of nature outside man, or in the psychological experience, the hope, the fear, the hate, the love within him. It begins with fetichism, it ends in symbolism; its feet are in the deep sea-wells and in the primeval slime, its head is swathed in mists and mysticism. Starting with a vague effort to seize and imprison the unknown terror or delight within or without, to make the El

of a moment resident permanently in some tangible Beth, aneikonism is the outcome rather of emotion than of intellect, begotten probably in that early stage when thought and emotion were not segregate as now.

Aneikonism is always imaginatively more awful than eikonism. Lucan saw this of the imageless worship of the Gauls:¹

“Non vulgatis sacrata figuris
Numina sic metuunt. . . .
Tantum terroribus addit
Quos timeant non nosse deos.”

Shaping no human form, aneikonism tells no human story, has no mythology, no human genealogy, no pseudo-history; it renounces whole domains of art and literature, all the variegated fabric and fancies of polytheism. Its tendency is towards monotheism and pantheism. It generates cosmogonies rather than theologies, and from these cosmogonies is born a rude and primitive philosophy. Hence, though the gods of aneikonism are not scientific, they are not wholly irreconcilable with science; they are life principles within the whole of nature, not impossible, unthinkable, outside creators and rulers.

Turn to ritual. The ritual of eikonism is simple, and easily intelligible. Having made the divine into a man, it treats him as such, offers sacrifice to him, prays to him, praises him. The ritual of aneikonism at its lowest is magical; it aims at direct control of unknown forces, of things that are. Seeking the virtue of magical contact, aneikonism kisses its pillar. Aneikonism will not sacrifice or pray or praise. It holds no human traffic with “fabulous immortal men.” It is at once, above and below that. At its highest, aneikonic ritual, being monotheistic or pantheistic, aims at union; in a word it is sacramental, mystical.

I had often wondered why the Olympians—Apollo,

¹ iii. 415-417.

Athena, even Zeus, always vaguely irritated me, and why the mystery gods, their shapes and ritual, Demeter, Dionysus, the cosmic Eros, drew and drew me. I see it now. It is just that these mystery gods represent the supreme golden moment achieved by the Greek, and the Greek only, in his incomparable way. The mystery gods *are* eikonic, caught in lovely human shapes ; but they are life-spirits barely held ; they shift and change. Aeschylus, arch-mystic, changes his Erinyes into Eumenides, and is charged with impiety. Dionysus is a human youth, lovely with curled hair, but in a moment he is a Wild Bull, and a Burning Flame. The beauty and the thrill of it !

Finally, it has been suggested to me that eikonism and aneikonism in their ultimate analysis represent the workings of those two factors of our being with which modern science is now and rightly, but so tardily, much concerned, the conscious and the subconscious. The subconscious makes for fusion, union, emotion, ecstasy ; the conscious for segregation, discrimination, analysis, clarity of vision. On the action and interaction of these two our whole spiritual vitality would seem to depend. It is a far-reaching thought. I believe it to be true ; but this is not the place or the hour, and I am not the person, to discuss it. But of this much I am sure, that the tendency to eikonism or aneikonism is temperamental ; and there is, I hope, room in the world for all temperaments. I throw myself on your mercy as a mystic and aneikonist. At Chartres, when I turned to leave the Cathedral, when the salutation to Mary the Maiden was over, and her moving lights were quenched, I saw, and I confess without shame that I was glad to see, the faithful throng up through the darkness to kiss that

“Pillar of the End.”

Mr. R. M. DAWKINS

THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

THE work of the British School at Athens in the season of 1906-1907 was in two places. A subsidiary excavation was conducted at a site on the Magnesian promontory of Thessaly, whilst the main work of the school continued the previous season's campaign on the site of ancient Sparta.

In Thessaly some geometric tombs were discovered with a rich yield of vases. Near these, the foundations of an ancient church were cleared, interesting both for its plan and for its very fine mosaic pavement.

The main excavation of Sparta was chiefly directed to three objects : (1) the tracing of the course of the city wall, (2) the excavation of the sanctuary of Athena of the Brazen House, and (3), the further excavations of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. With regard to the city wall, it has now been possible to trace its general course all round the enceinte, mainly by the stamped tiles which are found on the line where the wall previously existed, the wall itself having often entirely disappeared.

On the Acropolis, just behind the theatre, were found the scanty remains of the famous temple of Athena of the Brazen House. A series of important statuettes were discovered, a long archaic inscription, and a very fine early Panathenaic amphora. There was evidence to prove that the sanctuary goes back to very early times.

The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia is now proved to consist

of a temple, in front of which is a large theatrical building, bearing to the façade of the temple the relation of the *cavea* of a theatre to the stage building. In the middle of the arena thus formed was found the altar of the goddess. The theatre dates to the third century after Christ, and it is well known that the savage rites of Orthia lasted until the very end of Paganism. The temple itself dates from the sixth century B.C., having been, however, rebuilt in the Hellenistic period. The latest altar is Roman, but rests on the remains of an early Greek, and probably a Hellenistic, altar, associated with which are a mass of the charcoal and débris of sacrifices. These remains carry the site back to the sixth century B.C., but there is evidence that the cult is very much older, going back indeed to the earliest days of the Dorian settlement in the Laconian vale. In the sixth century the level of the sanctuary was raised some three or four feet, by a layer of sand and gravel brought from the bed of the Eurotas, no doubt to avoid the danger of floods, to which this low-lying site must always have been subject. After clearing away this sand, we found all over the arena and inside the temple a copious deposit, in some places as much as three feet thick, of votive offerings to the goddess. These are all certainly earlier than the sixth century B.C., and the earliest of them can hardly be later than the ninth century, thus carrying us back to the earliest Dorian period. Amongst these offerings, and of the same period, was found a very large altar resting upon a cobble pavement. This altar can in construction hardly be later than the eighth century, and even before it was built sacrifices were offered upon this spot. This is proved from the fact that underneath the foundations of the altar there is a quantity of burnt charcoal and bones, clearly the débris of burnt offerings. A mass of such débris surrounds the altar itself. The votive offerings of this ancient period are of very great interest and importance. The pottery ranges from Corinthian, at the top of the deposit, through proto-Corinthian, down to a thick stratum of geometric, fitting in thus very well with

a date ranging from the sixth century backwards. With this pottery were found a large number of bronzes of geometric style, *fibulae* and carved ivories. The ivories, which are of unique interest, form the most important part of our finds. There are many small figures, couchant animals, seals and plaques with representations in relief. Many of these plaques adorn the brooches that were used to fasten the characteristic Dorian dress. The *fibulae* are of great importance, as their nearest congeners are found, not in Greece, but in the Iron Age settlements of Austria and the Alpine region. The amber found points also in the same direction, and is a link with the same Iron Age finds. All this evidence strongly supports the theory that the Dorians were invaders who came into Greece from the north of the Balkan Peninsula; and in these early votive offerings we seem to have the peculiar jewellery and ornaments that they brought with them from their earliest home. They brought with them also the savage rites of their goddess Orthia, whose venerated image, according to the legend, was actually brought to Sparta from some other place.

It is remarkable that the altars found are situated one exactly above the other, and thus show a continuous cult of the goddess on the sacred place for at least twelve hundred years. The temple associated with the oldest altar and its mass of votive offerings has not yet been found, but there is good evidence for supposing that its remains are hidden beneath a part of the foundation of the Roman theatrical building. If this be so, it will follow that at the time of the reconstruction of the sanctuary, in the sixth century, the temple was rebuilt in a new place, whilst the altar remained throughout in its original sacred position, as being the real centre of the cult. The further excavation of the site, and in particular the search for this most ancient temple will be the main task of the British school in the coming season.

The results of these excavations are published in the Annual

of the British School at Athens. The number which has just appeared contains a full report of the work of Sparta carried out in 1906. This year's work will be published in the next issue.

MR. W. WARDE FOWLER

THE DECAY OF ROMAN HOME LIFE SHOWN FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN HOUSE

IN the title of this brief lecture I have used two words which obviously mean different things. "House" means a material object of man's handiwork; "home" suggests a psychological fact. "Home" is for us Britons almost a sacred word. "True to the kindred points of heaven and home"—such a line flashes its meaning on the inward eye, and I need say no more of it.

Was there anything in Roman life answering to our use of this wonderful word? Beyond a doubt there was; and if this is not exactly expressed by the nominative *domus*, it can be felt in some degree in the familiar *domi*. The earliest Roman historical house (I am not here concerned with anything earlier) was really a home. In one sense it was even more a home than ours; the family was, as with us, the basis of society, but by family we have to understand not only the head of the household with his wife, children, and slaves, sometimes perhaps also the families of his sons, but the divine beings who dwelt in the house. As the city-state comprised both human and divine inhabitants, so also did the house, the germ and type of the city. In it was contained all that was dear to the family, all that was essential to its life, both natural and supernatural. And the natural and supernatural elements of home life were inseparably bound up with each other; the head of the family with his Genius; the hearth-fire and the cooking with Vesta; the store-cupboard and its meal with the Penates; and, as now seems probable, the

Lar familiaris with the arable land which supported the life of the family.

The worship of the slave was confined to the *Lar*; but the other members of the *familia* had priestly duties to perform towards all the deities of the *domus*, which itself was a sacred place. The real presence of these spirits survived by tradition even into the Augustan age, though no doubt the beautiful idea of the common life of human and divine beings was then practically lost. Ovid¹ could write :

Ante focos lolim scamnis considerare longis
Mos erat, et mensae credere adesse deos.

Cicero² is not merely rhetorical when in pleading the cause of his own lost house before the *pontifices* he exclaims : "What is more holy, what more entirely protected by religious feeling, than the house of each of our citizens?"

But let us note that this Roman house, sanctified by religion, was not originally a town house, but a farmhouse in the country; and I cannot but think that in this passage Cicero is inspired rather by the thought of his own beloved home at Arpinum, itself originally a farmhouse of his family, than by the costly mansion he had bought from Crassus on the Palatine. We must never forget that the Italian *atrium*, the one room of the oldest *domus*, in which the domestic life, human and superhuman, was focussed, was originally the economic as well as the religious centre of an economic unit, the farm. Here worship and work went on together; here were celebrated all the family festivals, on the days of birth, puberty, wedding, and burial. The *atrium* was to the house as the choir to a cathedral. As we study it we can better realise the character of the people who invented it: a character simple, quiet, dignified, disposed rather to action than speech; hard-working, well disciplined, superstitious in our sense of the word (not indeed in the Latin sense), narrow in its very strength. During the late war,

¹ *Fasti*, vi. 305.

² *De Domo*, 109.

no one acquainted with the old Roman life could help being struck by the analogy between the Boer farmhouse and the Roman, as between the two types of character.

Now the first step in the decay of home life was perhaps the transition from this simple farmhouse to a house in the city; but unluckily the details are lost to us. Curious questions suggest themselves, *e.g.* whether the household deities were carried bodily (or rather, as we are still in a primitive age, spiritually) into the new abode, or duplicated there, so as to secure the idea of home for both dwellings. One thing we do know, that in due time the farmhouse came to be left in charge of a steward (*vilicus*), and the true home life existed in Rome only. Cato, at the outset of his *De Re Rustica*, describes the *paterfamilias* coming from the city to visit his farm *in rure*, and before he goes his rounds saluting the *Lar familiaris*. This is the only deity of the *villa* which he mentions, and it suggests to me that, as the *Lar* was more closely connected with the land and the slaves than the others, he had remained behind while the others were transferred to the city, or that his duplicate was passed on with them. But this is only conjecture.

Let us pass to the *domus* of the city, and briefly trace its expansion. We shall find that it closely reflects the development of society. In all the town houses of which the ground plan survives, whether at Rome or Pompeii, the old home-centre, the *atrium*, is there, but only as a nucleus with developments. I need not describe its original form and contents, which are familiar to all, nor how the "wings" could be utilised as dining-rooms or wardrobes, how the *tablinum*, opposite the door, could grow into a permanent dining-room, or how a second storey could be added. The point for us is to understand how the little garden behind the *tablinum* could be converted, after the Greek fashion and under a Greek name, into a *peristylum*, *viz.* an open court with a pretty colonnade round it, to which again there might be added other saloons with Greek

names, convenient for many purposes. Thus the house came to be divided into two parts, the Roman and the Greek: the Roman *atrium* and its belongings, and the Greek *peristylum* and its developments; and thus the house reflects the composite character of Roman life, just as do Roman literature and Roman art. Strange to say, it is the Roman part that is retained for reception rooms: it is the *atrium* to which the morning callers are admitted, if they are deemed worthy to penetrate beyond the *vestibulum*; it is into the Greek part that all the elements of home life have retreated—even in many cases Vesta with the Penates and the Lar;¹ and there the private life of the family goes on. This change had already been brought about by the time of Plautus, and may be put in the third century B.C., just when Greek influences were beginning to press in in all departments of life, and when social and out-of-door life was getting the better of the old reserve and simplicity. Your *atrium* has become in part a public room; the atmosphere of the street is penetrating it.

So far I have been speaking of the dwellings of the more important Roman families. But meanwhile a lower population has been gathering in the city, whose families could not afford the luxury of a *domus*, even if space could have been found for so many. So far as we know, they always lived in *insulae*, i.e. great lodging-houses with flats or chambers on several floors. Dionysius (x. 32) puts the beginning of the *insula* as far back as the settlement of the *plebs* on the Aventine. But we unluckily know as little of the history of the *insula* as we do of its life; we do not know how many families lived in each, what the rooms were like, or how far anything like home life was possible in such circumstances. Had each family here its household gods? If we could but answer that simple question we should have a flood of light thrown at once on the home life of the *plebs urbana*. Professor De Marchi, who has given special attention to the subject, is inclined to think that there was

¹ De Marchi, *La Religione nella vita domestica*, i. 31 foll.

a common protecting deity for each *insula*, and that the separate dwelling-rooms sheltered human beings only, not divine ones. In *C.I.L.* vi. 65-7 we have a dedication to a *Bona Dea* "*In tutelam insulae*," with which he aptly compares the little altar to be found at the door of the great lodging-houses of Naples at the present day, which serves for the devotions of all the inhabitants. I should myself be inclined to guess that at any rate in early times the separate rooms of the *insula* may have contained some means of private worship, and that a home life might in some sense have been maintained there; but in any case the conditions of life in the Rome of the last three centuries B.C. were not favourable to its maintenance. The self-sufficingness of the real home (*in rure*) was clearly impossible here. Vesta and the Penates must have become gradually superfluous even if they ever had a place here: provisions were only bought for the need of the moment, or procured from the public distribution of corn, and the meal thus obtained was given, as time went on, to *pistores* to be baked. Pliny tells us that baking came in as a trade in 171 B.C., a fact which we may perhaps connect with the growth of *insulae* after the Punic wars and the irruption of new population. Where there was neither permanent store nor daily cooking, neither Penates nor Vesta, what home life could there have been?

It seems likely that all the essentials of home were by the last century of the republic absent in the *insula*; and in this period we meet with another tendency, which steadily worked in the same direction. We know, of course, that in southern climates people live much more out-of-doors, even in the winter, than we do; that in Mediterranean cities like Athens the centre of life came to be more and more the *agora* and other public places. So at Rome, as the city became the pivot on which society turned, whether high or low, and more especially in the last two centuries B.C., we find a beginning made of the building of all those places of public resort, whether for business or pleasure, which

under the empire made Rome the most convenient and sociable city in the world. The *porticus*, the *basilica*, the *circus*, the theatre and the baths, all conspired to shift the centre of human life from the home to the city, from the family to the forum. I know nothing that so well illustrates this change as the first book of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*. Of family and home life he says nothing, and apparently cares less—it is not life for him; but for the happily unmarried who are without a real home, Rome and all its sights and places of public enjoyment is indeed a Paradise.

For the lower population, apart from the games and other amusements, there was the *popina* and the *taberna* of the kind described in the Virgilian *Copa*, with its small delights of dancing and singing. I am inclined to suspect that these *tabernae* gave shelter for the night to many of the submerged tenth who were really homeless, and slept in such lairs as they could find. What does Tacitus¹ mean by the *cubilia*, which he couples with *tabernae* in describing the places where great numbers were caught and drowned by the great flood of the Tiber in A.D. 69?

But in whatever degree this homelessness of the masses was a fact, the life of the *insula* and the necessity as well as the attraction of the out-of-door life must have helped to weaken the fibre of the urban population. No doubt it made them sharper, as it does in our own towns, but it also made them restless, pleasure-loving, and so too reckless and revolutionary, useless for prompt political or military action.² Augustus so clearly saw this, that he reluctantly but deliberately took the line of making this population comfortable in body and mind, by simple petting, so that they might not make every one else uncomfortable, as they had been wont to do.

What I have said about the effects of out-door life on the lower classes applies also to the upper, to which we must now return for the few minutes that are left. The

¹ *Hist.* i. 86.

² Cp. Sallust, *Cat.* 37.

famous fragment of Lucilius about the fretful contentious life in the Forum applies equally to the rich and poor :

Nunc vero a mani ad noctem, festo atque profesto,
Totus item pariter populus, plebesque patresque
Lactare indu foro se omnes, decedere nusquam.

All day long, he adds, they do nothing but talk and quarrel, flatter, deceive, and plot. Can the lack of a true home life be better described than in these lines, even if the satirist exaggerates? The *gravitas* of the old Roman character seems to have disappeared with the privacy of the *atrium*. And indeed it is true, in modern as well as ancient life, that *gravitas* is a quality of the home, restlessness a quality of the street. Every one who knows anything of the social life at Rome, or even of the political life only, of the age of Cicero, must have been struck by the instability of character, the infirmity of purpose, the restlessness and love of change, that mark the younger men and women of that time. Of Caelius, Milo, Curio, and their kind, we can but say that, "Unstable as water, they could not excel." Their contemporary Lucretius¹ paints this restlessness in a passage which brings home to us vividly the relation between the disposition of man and the way he is housed :

Ut nunc plerumque videmus
Quid sibi quisque velit nescire et quaerere semper
Commutare locum quasi onus deponere possit.
Exit saepe foras magnis ex aedibus ille,
Esse domi cum pertaesumst, subitoque revertit,
Quippe foris nihilo melius qui sentiat esse.
Currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitanter
Auxilium tectis quasi ferre ardentibus instans :
Oscitat extemplo, tetigit cum limina villae,
Aut abit in somnum gravis atque oblivis quaerit,
Aut etiam properans urbem petit atque revisit.

These wonderful lines aptly introduce the last remarks I have to make about the decay of Roman home life. While the masses are homeless in the sense of being without a

¹ iii. 1060 f.

house, and often perhaps without even a room of their own, the wealthy are building themselves palatial residences on the hills of Rome, too magnificent to be worthy of the name of home, rather indeed, as Sallust says, like cities, and then selling them again,—for the constant buying and selling of town houses is one of the most curious features of that age; and not only that, but they are doing the same thing in the country, buying land wherever the fancy takes them, and building villas with all the latest improvements, vying with each other in the invention of new luxuries both in house and grounds. I say nothing here of the great mansions of Baiae and Bauli, which, if they were homes at all, were homes of vice; but let us reflect that every man, even of such moderate means as Cicero's, had his villas scattered about Latium and Campania, answering the purpose of our modern hotels at "health resorts." This means restlessness, and at the same time it helps to stimulate it—another point in which the life of that last century B.C. reminds us of our time. Neither the palace in the city nor the villa in the country could really be a home. Cicero, indeed, as I have already said, did feel that his ancestral villa at Arpinum was his real home—the charming introduction to the second book of his *De Legibus* proves that; but all his other villas, even the loved one at Tusculum, are convenient resorts and little more. He never mentions their household deities. The *atrium* has disappeared in them, as in all the villas of which we know the ground-plan—or rather, it has become the kitchen, it is relegated to purely material purposes.

Cicero was a good man with high aims, but I do not doubt that this multiplication of homes was bad for him. For steady thought or persistent work, one must have an abiding-place. I would suggest that the want of the power of intellectual concentration, of deep and sustained thought, among the Romans, as well as the looseness of their family life in these later periods of their history, may be brought into connection with the history of the Roman house.

You will doubtless have noticed one apparently unpardon-

able omission in what I have been saying: I have hardly even referred to the position of woman in the house,—and is it not woman, above all else, that makes a house into a home? But the fatal *clepsydra* has been haunting me all through; I have had to sacrifice the *materfamilias*. It would be interesting to go over the story again and to fit her into it, and I will just briefly indicate how this might be done.

First, we should have to see how the characteristic Roman lady of the best time, the type which so strongly attracted the gentle and homely Plutarch, and through Plutarch has descended to Shakespeare, is inseparable from the *atrium* where she sat and spun and ruled. To know that dignified matron you must know the old Roman house; and to understand how that house was a home, you must know the Roman matron. Secondly, we should note that the period in which that noble type of lady gradually disappears, losing in *gravitas* and self-restraint, while she gains her legal freedom and makes a *monde* for herself, exactly corresponds with that in which the *atrium* ceases to be a private room, in which the life of the *insula* begins and grows, the charms and conveniences of out-door life in the city are ever on the increase, and restlessness and homelessness too are induced by the multiplication of residences. Reading the other day Mr. A. C. Clark's new Oxford text of Asconius, I was touched by a few words, unintentionally pathetic, in which it is made plain that the mistress and the *atrium* are no longer inseparable. The mob broke into the house of Milo and broke up, among other things, the spinning materials which were there *ex vetere more*. They were there as a symbol of what had in reality vanished. Still, we must not be too sure that behind the scenes of public life, which we call history, there was not yet a home life maintained, chiefly by the womanly graces, which are after all to be found in all ages. Such a home life lives recorded for ever in the famous inscription which we call *The Praise of Turia*,¹ dating from the very

¹ *C.I.L.*, vi. 1527.

time when we are apt to think of Roman married life as at its lowest ebb. As I read it through again I feel that there is indeed a home life that transcends the material limits of the house, and is based on the eternal laws of Love and Duty.

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GREEK PRONUNCIATION

(*Interim Report of the Pronunciation Committee, October, 1907.*)

THE Pronunciation Committee of the Classical Association, which has already reported on Latin Pronunciation, is empowered also "to consider what changes in the present pronunciation of Greek should be recommended for general adoption."

In drawing up the following scheme, the Committee has considered only the pronunciation of the vowels and consonants in Greek, postponing at present the more difficult problem of accental pronunciation.

The following suggestions are not put forward as constituting a complete or final scheme, but as approximations which, for teaching purposes, may be regarded as practicable, and at the same time as a great advance on the present usage, both for clearness in teaching and for actual likeness to the ancient sounds.

Quantity.

As in Latin, the quantities of the vowels should be strictly observed. For example, the short vowels in *πατήρ*, *νύκ*, *χορὴς*, *ἵδωρ*, should be carefully distinguished (by prolongation, not by stress) from the long vowels in *φῆμα*, *κῆρ*, *χώρα*, *ὑμεῖς*.

Vowels.

ā and ä, ī and i, ē and e (the last two being always short) may be pronounced as the corresponding vowels in Latin: i.e.

ā, as a in *father*.

ä, as a in *aha*.

ī, as ee in *feed*.

î, as i in Fr. *piquet*, nearly as Eng. i in *fit*.

ë, as e in *fret*.

è, as o in *not*.

η (long open e) as è in Fr. *il mène*

(nearer Eng. ea in *bear* than ey in *grey*).

- ω (long open o) as o in Fr. *encore*
 (nearer Eng. oa in *broad* than Eng. o in *bone*).
 υ as French ũ in *du pain*.
 ῡ as French ũ in *rus* or Germ. ü in *grün*.

Diphthongs.

- αι = a + i as Eng. ai in *Isaiah*.
 οι = o + i as Eng. oi in *oil*.
 υι = u + i as Fr. ui in *lui*.

In α γ ψ the first vowel was long, and the second only faintly heard.

αι. The precise sound of αι is difficult to determine, but in Attic Greek it was never confused with γ till a late period, and to maintain the distinction clearly it is perhaps best for English students to pronounce it as Eng. *eye*, though in fact it must have been nearer to Fr. *és* in *passé*, Eng. *ey* in *grey*. The Greek Ἀλφαιός is Latin Alphēus.

- αυ = au, as Germ. au in *Haus*, nearly as Eng. ow in *gown*.
 ευ = eu, nearly as Eng. ew in *few*.
 ου as Eng. oo in *moon*, Fr. ou in *roue*.

Consonants.

π, β, τ, δ, κ and γ as p, b, t, d, c or k and g respectively in Lat. ; except that γ before γ, κ and χ is used to denote the nasal sound heard in Eng. *ankle*, *anger*.

ρ, λ, μ, ν as Lat. r, l, m, n.

σ, ς always as Lat. s (Eng. s in *mouse*), except before β, γ and μ, where the sound was as in Eng. *has been*, *has gone*, *has made*: e.g. ἔσβηστος, φέσσανεν, ἐσμός.

Aspirates.

The Committee has carefully considered the pronunciation of the aspirated consonants in Greek. It is certain that the primitive pronunciation of χ, θ, φ was as k.h, t.h, p.h, that is as k, t, p followed by a strong breath, and the Committee is not prepared to deny that this pronunciation lasted down into the classical period. Further, there is no doubt that the adoption of this pronunciation makes much in Greek accidence that is otherwise obscure perfectly comprehensible. If φαίω be pronounced *whaiō*, it is readily understood why the reduplicated perfect is

περήνα; but if it be pronounced *ταίνω*, the perfect, pronounced *περήνα*, is anomalous. The relation of *θρίξ τηρίξ* to *τρίχα τρικχα* becomes perfectly intelligible, the *h*, which can be pronounced with difficulty, if at all, before *g*, having shifted itself to the *τ*. This advantage seems to be one of the reasons why it has been adopted in practice by a certain number of English teachers.

In the course of time the pronunciation of the aspirates changed by degrees to that of fricatives, which is now current in most districts of Greece, *φ* becoming *f*, *θ* pronounced as *th* in English "thin," and *χ* acquiring the sound of the German *ch*.¹

If the later sounds are accepted, no change in the common pronunciation of *θ* and *φ* in England will be required, but it will remain desirable to distinguish between the sounds of *κ* and *χ*, which are at present confused: *ἀκος* and *ἀχος*, *καίνω* and *χαίνω* being now pronounced alike. This may be done by giving *χ* the sound of *kh*, or of German *ch*, as in *auch*. The Committee would, on the whole, recommend the latter alternative as being more familiar in German, Scotch, and Irish place-names.²

The Committee, though loth to do anything to discourage the primitive pronunciation of the aspirates, has not been able to satisfy itself that it would be easy to introduce this pronunciation into schools to which it is strange; and it is of opinion that it is not advisable to recommend anything at present that might increase the labour of the teacher or the student of Greek. It therefore abstains from recommending any change in the common pronunciation of the aspirates except in the case of *χ*.

S. H. BUTCHER, *Chairman*.

R. S. CONWAY.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

C. A. A. DU PONTET.

R. C. GILSON.

J. P. POSTGATE.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

W. G. RUSHBROOKE.

S. E. WINBOLT, *Hon. Sec.*

M. H. WOOD.

¹ The dates and stages of these changes cannot as yet be settled with precision. But the practical choice seems to be between the earliest and the latest values, though there is no doubt whatever that a distinct *h* was heard in all these sounds long after the 5th century B.C.

² The word *χθονίς* is pronounced with one aspirate only.

REPORT OF THE CURRICULA COMMITTEE ON THE TEACHING OF LATIN IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

THIS Report falls into two sections, (A) that relating to the course of study in schools with a leaving age of eighteen or nineteen, and in schools preparatory thereto, (B) that relating to secondary schools under a local education authority.

(A) ON THE TEACHING OF LATIN IN SCHOOLS WITH A LEAVING AGE OF EIGHTEEN OR NINETEEN, AND SCHOOLS PREPARATORY THERETO.

We have not felt it to be our duty to consider in detail the character or scope of the teaching that a child should receive in the early stages of its education, but we venture to express our conviction that it is desirable that the greatest importance should be attached at an early stage to the study of English. Before children begin the study of a foreign language they should have learned to use their mother tongue with some degree of correctness and fluency, both orally and in writing, and have acquired a good stock of words and a habit of orderly and connected thought. They should also have learned to read aloud with accuracy and intelligence, and, so far as possible, with taste; and they should have become familiar with a considerable quantity of good English prose and verse of a character suited to their age. A feeling for literature may thus be developed which, while of the highest value in itself, will also help the pupil afterwards to appreciate the classics. An elaborate study of English grammar is not useful at this stage. In English it is not form but function which in the main distinguishes the "parts of speech," and the chief aim of teaching should be to attain a mastery of the broad principles of sentence

structure and the functions of words. The teaching of the elements of English should not be encumbered with distinctions which are not vital to English itself, but the fundamental grammatical notions should be taught in such a way as to prove a help when pupils approach the study of other languages.

Assuming, therefore, that the study of the mother tongue should precede the study of any foreign language, we desire also to call attention to the disadvantages attending the common practice of beginning a second foreign language before the pupil has acquired an adequate knowledge of the first, and a third foreign language before the pupil has acquired an adequate knowledge of either the first or the second. The elements of three foreign languages taught concurrently take up a very large portion of the school day, and pupils of only average ability naturally make very slow progress in any of the three languages, and consequently tend to lose interest in their work and to do it mechanically. We think that better results would be obtained if it were recognised that learners should never begin two languages at or about the same time, but should have been well grounded in the elements of one language before beginning a second, and well grounded in the elements of the second before beginning a third.

An adult who desires to learn a language finds that he succeeds best by working at it every day. In the same way we think that the best results are obtained at school when a pupil beginning a new language has a daily lesson in it. We have, however, good reason to believe that so obvious a principle is often forgotten, especially in girls' schools as regards the teaching of classics, and in some boys' schools which attempt a very wide curriculum. Yet if several days are allowed to elapse between one lesson and another, the original impression is often effaced and the work has to be done afresh. The method which we are recommending also tends to keep the pupils interested in their work and encouraged by the sense of making progress. We think that as a general rule pupils should devote themselves to the study of their first foreign language for at least a year before any other foreign language is taken up, and to their second foreign language for at least a year before a third foreign language is begun. When, as will often be the case, a modern language taught colloquially and at an early age is the first

foreign language studied, we think that the study of Latin should not be postponed beyond the age of eleven. Greek should not be begun until the pupil is at least able to translate an easy piece of narrative Latin, and is so familiar with the commonest inflexions and constructions that he can use them correctly in composing Latin sentences of a simple character.

In the early stages of learning a language great demands on the memory are inevitable, and there is always a danger of making these demands excessive by putting before the pupil a bewildering mass of unfamiliar words and inflexions. In teaching the elements of Latin, we should restrict ourselves to what is of frequent occurrence. The really useful words, inflexions, and constructions should be introduced gradually and thoroughly worked into the pupil's mind, by constant practice in translating from and into Latin. By thus concentrating attention on what is of common occurrence it should be possible for the pupil, in a comparatively short time, to acquire a working knowledge of the language such as will enable him to pass without great difficulty to the intelligent reading of a Latin author.

It may be worth while to point out that the principle of concentrating attention on what is common and essential is constantly violated in practice. If we study the grammar questions set in the scholarship examinations of some of the public schools or in University Matriculation Examinations, we find such forms asked for as the ablative plural of *filia*,¹ the accusative singular of nouns like *tussis*, *amussis*, the genitive plural of *accipiter* or *panis*, the gender of *gryps*, *hydrops*, or *acer* ("maple-tree"), the forms of Greek nouns as declined in Latin, and rare or non-existent comparatives and superlatives and "principal parts" of verbs, to say nothing of forms which, though

¹ *Filiabus* is not wanted for the purpose of reading Latin literature until the pupil comes to the *Civil War* of Caesar (where it occurs once, II. 108. 3, for the sake of distinction from *filiis*) and the 24th book of Livy (where it also occurs once, ch. 26. 2, according to the MSS.; but the reading is doubted by Weissenborn); and here a reference to the dictionary will give the information required. Elsewhere Livy uses *filiis* in the sense of "daughters" (XXXVIII. 57. 2, *ex duabus filiis*); so too Plautus twice, without any word to indicate the gender, such as *duabus* (*Stich.* 567, *Poen.* 1128).

they occur in classical authors, are no necessary part of the mental outfit of the beginner. The method of attempting to commit the whole of the accidence to memory at an early stage without practice in the use of the forms learned is kept alive by such questions, and the study of grammar is thus divorced from the study of actual speech. A similar criticism may be applied to the teaching of rare syntactical types, especially if they rest on imperfect evidence, such as *non dubito quin futurum sit ut urbs capiatur*. An examination of the Public School Entrance Scholarship papers, reprinted in Vol. VI. of the Special Reports on Educational Subjects (Board of Education), will show that many of the sentences set in them are not well suited to test, as they should, whether the candidate possesses a practical knowledge of the common constructions and a good working vocabulary.

As to the particular shape in which this practice in common words, common forms, and common constructions should be given, more than one method is possible. The use of a classical author at the stage contemplated is, indeed, excluded by the fact that no classical author satisfies the conditions; nor could extracts from the classics be made which would contain only the words, forms, and constructions required. But it is possible to present vocabulary and grammar either in the form of isolated sentences or in the shape of a connected narrative specially written for the purpose. Perhaps the best plan is to combine the two—that is, to construct a very simple narrative for translation into English and isolated sentences for translation into Latin. It is possible, though not easy, to write a connected narrative in which the new grammatical points are systematically introduced and the vocabulary gradually extended. The merits of this method are that sentences woven together so as to form a continuous discourse need not be more difficult or varied in construction, and are from the nature of the case more easily intelligible in their context than isolated sentences; that words, forms and constructions embedded in a context of meaning acquire a certain energy and power of impressing themselves on the memory which they lack in isolation; and that the mere interest of the story contributes to the acquisition of the art of reading, as distinct from construing. On the other hand, exercises consisting of disconnected sentences for translation into Latin have

their value. It is easier, if the writer does not attempt to form them into a continuous passage, to introduce exactly the words and grammatical forms in which the pupil requires practice, to concentrate his attention on some puzzling construction, excluding for the time other difficulties, whether of vocabulary or grammar, and by reiteration to make him thoroughly familiar with it. It is, perhaps, worth remarking that the pupil will not learn Latin from doing the sentences wrong: it is essential that, if approximate correctness is not attained, he should rewrite the sentences in which he has made mistakes, so that he may retain in his memory the impression of an idiomatic piece of Latin.

In accordance with the recommendation of our interim report presented in January, 1906, the Classical Association has adopted *Public Schools* the principle "that in the lower and middle forms of boys' public schools Greek should be taught only with a view to the intelligent reading of Greek authors." This principle, as we explained in our report, does not exclude a study of grammar or the practice of simple forms of composition as means to the reading of Greek literature. But in Latin the function of grammar and composition must be defined differently; they should be studied not only as a means to the intelligent reading of Latin authors, but also as a linguistic discipline and with a view to training the mind in habits of clear and logical thinking. Perhaps, however, what needs more emphasis is that the literary and historic interest of the authors read should not be neglected even in the earlier stages of learning. It is too common even at the present day for teachers to set up a mechanical conception of Latin as a merely formal gymnastic, instead of regarding it as a literature capable of exerting a strong attraction upon the pupil and of becoming a powerful influence for the training of taste, the development of character, and the awakening of intellectual ambitions. It should never be forgotten that Latin literature has largely contributed to making the life and literature of the civilised world of to-day what it is. These two ends of formal and literary study are, however, not inconsistent with one another. Latin may and should be so taught as to realise them both at the same time. The practice of composition is of the utmost importance, not only as developing habits of clear thinking, but as giving a fuller insight into the spirit of the Latin language.

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The ends to be kept in view in the study of Latin are, therefore, two: (i) the intelligent reading of the more important Latin authors; (ii) a linguistic and logical discipline. *Objects of the study of Latin.* In connexion with the first of these ends, the Committee desires to call attention to the importance of planning out the course of reading on some well-considered principle, so as to make it as profitable as possible and representative of what is best in Latin literature.

Considering the fact that the majority of pupils will not read many new Latin books after they have left school, the *Course of reading.* Committee feels that teachers cannot be too careful in the selections which they make of authors for study; much energy is wasted at the present time by a haphazard method of procedure. The Committee has therefore considered (a) which authors are most worth reading at school, and (b) in what order they should be taken, in view partly of their linguistic difficulty, partly of the suitability of their contents for reading at different ages. In drawing up the scheme appended to this part of the Report the Committee has had the advantage of the assistance of a number of experienced teachers who have co-operated with a Sub-Committee appointed for this purpose¹; but the scheme is submitted only as a specimen, and not as necessarily the best that could be devised.

The suggestions of the scheme are based on the supposition that the pupil will go through a preliminary course of work on a Reader. Whether this preliminary course lasts for two years or one will depend on the method of teaching employed. If Latin is taken after some mastery of French has been acquired, it may be possible to limit the preliminary grammatical work to one year. Otherwise two years will probably be necessary.

In making its selection of authors the Committee has tried to bear in mind the claims of both subject-matter and style. In most cases authors worth reading for their subject-matter are also worth reading for their style (*e.g.* Livy and Vergil);

¹ The Sub-Committee consisted of Sir A. F. Hort and Professor Sonnenschein, together with the following co-opted members: Professor E. V. Arnold, Mr. C. G. Botting, Mr. Butcher, Mr. M. O. B. Caspari, Mr. B. C. Gilson, Professor Hardie, Professor Mackail, Mr. M. J. Rendall, Miss Slater, Mr. H. Williamson.

but where the two claims are to some extent opposed the Committee has chosen such works as on the whole seem best suited to a particular stage of learning. For the earlier stages the interest of the subject-matter is of more importance than the beauty of the style; the capacity to appreciate style is developed later, and it is at the later stages that the style of the authors read begins to exercise an important influence on composition.

The Committee has deliberately rejected certain authors as of inferior educational value—*e.g.* in the early stage, Eutropius and Cornelius Nepos; in the middle stage, Sallust¹; in the latest stage, the Silver Age epic poets, whose works it is thought should form no part of the school curriculum, but be reserved for University study.

The Committee thinks that encouragement should be given to the practice, of not limiting the amount of reading done in school to what pupils have time to prepare out of school. The conventional system of "prepared construing" seems to need considerable modification. The traditional course of reading may be widened if time is allowed in class for reading ahead after the translation of the passages set for preparation; but passages read as unseens in class may with advantage be set for revision out of class.

The principle of using selections may be safely applied wherever it does not involve scrappiness of reading—*e.g.* it may be applied without sacrifice of unity to the Odes, Satires, and Epistles of Horace, and to the Elegies of Propertius. On the other hand, the principle of continuity should be more thoroughly applied than at present to certain works; the *Aeneid*, for example, should be treated so far as possible as a literary whole, the several books being read in consecutive order, though possibly with some omissions of the less important parts, which might be read in a good English verse translation. In this connexion the Committee desires to call attention to the important difference which exists between reading a book

¹ The rejection of Sallust in favour of Livy has the support of Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* II. 5. 19). In answer to the question, "qui sint legendi incipientibus?" he says, "Ego optimos quidem et statim et semper, sed tamen eorum candidissimum quemque et maxime expositum velim, ut *Livium a pueris magis quam Sallustium.*"

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with some omissions and reading a collection of excerpts selected with a view to their individual beauty of thought or diction. By means of omissions it becomes possible in the case of long works, such as the history of Livy or the *Aeneid* of Vergil, to get a connected view of the story or message which the author has to communicate: whereas, if the attention of the pupil is confined to one or two books, he necessarily fails to get an idea of the work as a whole. To omit parts of a work which is too long to be read in its entirety is, therefore, the only practicable method of acquiring an understanding of its contents and unity.

A SPECIMEN COURSE OF LATIN READING FOR SCHOOLS WITH A LEAVING AGE OF EIGHTEEN OR NINETEEN, AND SCHOOLS PREPARATORY THERETO

I. PRELIMINARY STAGE (AGES 10 OR 11-14)

1ST YEAR:

Preparatory Course.

2ND YEAR:

Prose: Simplified Caesar—e.g. part of *B.G.* IV., V. (*The Invasion of Britain*); or,

Simplified Livy—e.g. passages from Books II. and IX. The passages selected should form a continuous narrative.

Verse: Some fables of Phaedrus (omitting the "morals," which are difficult) and some easy selections from the elegiac poems of Ovid.

3RD YEAR:

Prose: Dramatic scenes and incidents from Livy—e.g. passages from Books V., VII., VIII. (not simplified); or,

Episodes (not simplified) from Books V., VI., VII. of Caesar's *Gallie War*.

Verse: Stories from Ovid's *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses*, or
A miscellaneous selection of Latin verse.

II. ADVANCED STAGE (AGES 14-18)

1ST YEAR:

Prose: Cicero: one or more of the easier orations, such as *In Catilinam*, I, III., *Pro Lege Manilia*, *De Provinciis Consularibus*, *Pro Ligario*, together with passages of some length from other speeches, such as the *Verrines*, *Actio* II., Books IV. and V., and some stories of Roman life or easy letters of Cicero.

Verse: Vergil, *Aeneid*, I. and II.

2ND YEAR :

Prose: Livy, XXI. and XXII. (as much as possible of these books, not omitting the battle of Cannae in the later part of Book XXII.).

Verses: Vergil, *Aeneid*, III., IV. and V. (Considerable portions of Book V. might be taken for rapid reading in class.)

A few select Odes of Horace.

3RD YEAR :

Prose: One of the longer speeches of Cicero, or part of the *Civil War* of Caesar, together with the *Somnium Scipionis* and the praise of literature in the *Pro Archia* (sections 12-32).

The *Agricola* of Tacitus.

Verses: Vergil, *Aeneid*, VI. and parts of VII.—XII.

Select Odes of Horace.

4TH YEAR :

At this stage there will naturally be much freedom of choice.

(a) The following books are suggested as necessary to complete the above scheme of reading :—

Prose: One or more books of the *Annals* or *Histories* of Tacitus.

One or more books of a philosophical or rhetorical treatise of Cicero (e.g. *Tusculan Disputations*, Book V., or a book of the *De Oratore*).

A few selected letters of Cicero.

Verses: Horace : select Satires and Epistles.

Selections from Catullus and Propertius.

Lucretius : Book V. and selections from other books.

Juvenal : three or four Satires.

(b) The following books are suggested as less essential ; some of these might be taken for rapid reading in class :—

Prose : Cicero, *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*.

Livy : some of the later books.

Quintilian, Book X.

Seneca : a treatise such as the *De Clementia*, or selections from the *Epistulae Morales*.

Pliny : select letters.

Verses : Plautus or Terence : one or two plays.

Vergil : some of the *Ecloques* and *Georgics*.

(B) ON THE TEACHING OF LATIN IN SCHOOLS WITH A LEAVING AGE OF ABOUT SIXTEEN¹

Hitherto in this Report we have had mainly in view those schools where the leaving age is eighteen or nineteen, and to which boys proceed from preparatory schools where both Latin and

¹ In the preparation of this part of the Report the Committee has had the assistance of a Sub-Committee consisting of the Rev. Canon Bell (Chairman), Mr. A. E. Holme, Mr. W. F. Witton.

French are included in the curriculum. There exists, however, a large and increasing number of secondary schools of which the pupils, to a great extent, receive their early education in public elementary schools up to the age of twelve or thirteen, afterwards proceeding to the secondary schools for three or four years. Some valuable facts relating to the teaching of languages in such schools will be found in a report submitted to the Committee by Mr. F. Roscoe and reproduced in an appendix below (p. 110).

When it is remembered that on entering the secondary school the pupils have usually no knowledge of any language but their own, and must begin the study of mathematics, science, and other non-literary subjects, it is plain that the complete and systematic study of Latin, both linguistically and as literature, which is both desirable and attainable under the conditions of the schools hitherto dealt with in the Report, will be quite out of the question in schools of this type.

Yet the teaching of Latin by such methods as will lead to results of permanent value at the close of a boy's career is desirable in such schools. The study of Latin gives a training in clearness of thought and accuracy of expression not easily obtained from the study of a modern language, introduces the pupil to the life of the ancients, is a necessary preliminary to the study of the origin of modern institutions, and assists in the comprehension of English literature.

The study of Latin in such schools has, in the past, met with the opposition of many parents, largely because on the older system of teaching the average boy rarely gained any real knowledge of the language in the time allowed. It will, therefore, be necessary rigorously to limit the scope of the work attempted to what can reasonably be accomplished in the time available—not more than four or five lessons a week for three or four years.

If in this time some tangible results could be attained by the average boy, such as the power of reading the easier Latin authors and some acquaintance with Roman life and history, the subject would be more popular than it has been hitherto.

We therefore recommend that in these schools Latin should be taught with a view to the intelligent reading of the easier Latin authors, and to supplying that discipline in clear and

accurate thought which is not so readily obtained from the study of a modern language.

It is specially important to ignore all that is uncommon in grammar, and to ensure a thorough knowledge of the grammatical forms and constructions commonly occurring in the authors read, and not to use composition except as a means of understanding and remembering these forms and constructions. To gain these ends a scheme of work is recommended of which the following may be taken as a sample:—

1st year.—A Reader with grammar and exercises based on the text and systematically graduated.

2nd year.—Simplified narrative passages from Latin prose authors, with graduated exercises as before.

3rd year.—Easy portions of Caesar and Cicero, with selections from Tibullus or Ovid, together with grammar and exercises as before.

4th year.—*Whole* books selected from the works of the following authors—Cicero, Livy, Tacitus (*Agricola*), and Vergil. Some letters of Pliny and Odes of Horace may be read. Or the books set for a Matriculation Examination.

The standard aimed at should be that of the Senior Local Examinations, or of University Matriculation or Preliminary Examinations; and this would generally be reached by those who had passed through the fourth year's course satisfactorily. It is important that, after the first year, reference should constantly be made to a simple manual of accidence and syntax.

We are of opinion that not less than four periods a week should be devoted to Latin, and strongly urge one lesson a day where possible. The suggestion has been made that time might be saved for this purpose if the formal teaching of English grammar were combined with that of the Latin grammar and dispensed with as a separate subject.

A difficulty will arise in co-ordinating the work of elementary school pupils with that of the boys who have been in the preparatory department of the secondary school itself, since the latter will usually have learnt some French, if not some Latin, before the age of twelve. This difficulty is obviated in most schools by a separate classification for Latin and French, at any rate in the lower forms, by which means also the boys may

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be taken in smaller numbers for languages than for other subjects. The elementary stages of learning are the most important, and the work should be entrusted to the most competent and experienced teachers. Such teachers are at present few in the schools we are considering, but, as in the case of the newer methods of teaching French, the demand will doubtless create the supply.

(Signed)

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN (*Chairman*).

G. C. BELL.

R. M. BURROWS.

W. C. COMPTON.

ETHEL GAVIN (*Representative of the Head Mistresses' Association*).

J. GOW (*Representative of the Head Masters' Conference*).

A. E. HOLME.

A. F. HORT.

E. D. MANSFIELD (*Representative of the Preparatory Schools Association*).

G. G. A. MURRAY.

J. A. NAIRN.

T. E. PAGE.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

A. B. RAMSAY.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

ADELE F. E. SANDERS (*Representative of the Assistant Mistresses' Association*).

LUCY SILCOX.

R. D. SWALLOW (*Representative of the Head Masters' Association*).

W. F. WITTON (*Representative of the Assistant Masters' Association*).

C. COOKSON (*Secretary*).

APPENDIX

*By Mr. F. Roscoe, Master of Method in the Day Training
College of the University of Birmingham*

SCHOOLS have been established in large numbers during the past three years by county and borough authorities for the purpose of affording provision for boys and girls up to the age of sixteen or thereabouts, and also to furnish a means of training pupil teachers in accordance with the new requirements of the Board of Education. Such schools are recruited mainly from the primary schools of their districts, schemes of scholarships and exhibitions having been set up for the purpose of enabling promising pupils to continue their schooling.

The teaching of Latin to such pupils as these has been found to be attended by considerable difficulty. The teachers almost unanimously ascribe this to the fact that the children coming up from the primary school are imperfectly grounded in English grammar and find it impossible to understand the meaning of ordinary terms, such as passive and active, indirect object, or even subject and predicate. Thus a considerable time has to be spent at the start in giving the most rudimentary instruction on these points.

This state of things is largely due to the fact that for some years there has been a reaction against formal grammar in the primary schools. Whereas formerly the pupils were set to learn grammar in the second standard, beginning at the age of eight and continuing throughout the course, there have latterly been not a few schools where grammar was not taught at all. The old system led to much meaningless drudgery for the children, but the new one leads to endless difficulties in the teaching of composition. A better plan than either is followed in some schools, where the formal grammar teaching is deferred until the pupils are eleven or twelve. It is then found possible to teach the subject intelligently and with profit.

If this plan were universal in the primary schools it would be possible to begin with French, and later to take up Latin in the secondary schools with less waste of time than is involved now. Since these schools have been established so recently, it is not possible to say much concerning the actual results of their work in Latin; but making allowance for the lack of preparation in the pupils, I have found that in Oldbury, where a secondary school was established in 1904, considerable progress has been made. It is also worth noting that the teaching of Latin has met with no opposition from the parents, although these are mostly working-class folk, living a strenuous life in the Black Country.

Already there are signs that the teaching of Latin in these schools

is likely to have a marked effect on the pupil teachers who are trained there. In training colleges attached to the new Universities the course in arts affords the best opportunity to the intending teacher, but hitherto science has been preferred, owing to the fact that Latin was required for arts. Now, however, we find that candidates are preparing themselves for the arts course, and in a few years there will probably be a supply of teachers for the primary schools who will have had a training in grammar and literature. This ought to react on the grammar teaching and serve to remove the great difficulty which I have described.

As an immediate measure it might be useful to persuade the authorities of these schools to exact a higher standard of grammar at their entrance examinations. Also there is need of some outline text-book on the lines of the Parallel Grammars to secure uniformity of terminology as far as possible. Unless this is done we are in danger of substituting confusion for ignorance.

RESOLUTIONS

On the basis of the above facts and suggestions the Committee submits the following resolutions for the consideration of the general meeting of the Classical Association :

1. That it is not desirable to begin the school study of two foreign languages, ancient or modern, at or about the same time.

2. That in the earliest stage of teaching Latin and Greek the teacher should aim at making his pupils very familiar with such words, inflexions and constructions as occur most commonly in the authors, and especially the first author, to be read at school.

3. That the scheme of reading in Latin and Greek authors should be carefully organized and graduated with a view (1) to the selection of such authors as are suitable in respect of both their language and their subject-matter to different stages of learning, (2) to the literary and historical value of the authors or parts of authors selected.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS,

Credit and Receipts.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Investments to January 1st, 1907 (<i>cost</i>) ...	388	15	0			
Cash balance	216	17	4			
Credit with Mr. Murray		12	2			
Total credit, January, 1907				606	4	6
Entrance fees (101)						
Subscriptions for 1905 (12)						
" " 1906 (89)						
" " 1907 (507)						
" " 1908 (42)						
" " 1909-12 (40)						
Extra payments... ..		2	6			
304 subscriptions for 1906 and 1907 paid direct to the bank... ..	76	0	0			
Life compositions	46	15	0			
American subscriptions	1	10	6			
Total subscriptions paid in 1907				322	3	0
Copies of <i>The Year's Work</i> bought at 1s. 9d.				24	17	0
Dividends, New Zealand Stock	9	12	10			
Interest on deposit	3	15	5			
Total interest, July, 1906, to July 1st, 1907				13	8	3

Audited and found correct,
(Signed) W. E. P. PANTIN.

£966 12

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

113

JANUARY 1st TO DECEMBER 31st, 1907.

<i>Expenditure.</i>						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Printing and stationery (general)	...	...				28	9	10			
„ „ „ (special)	...	...				3	17	5			
									32	7	3
Postage	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		12	1	5
Clerical assistance	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		34	6	9
Travelling expenses of members of Council...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		28	7	6
<i>Proceedings</i> , January, 1906	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		62	11	7
Cambridge Meeting (general expenses *)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		30	13	6
Capitation grants to Manchester Branch	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0			
„ „ „ Birmingham „	...	...	...	...	...		10	0			
Bankers' charges on cheques	...	...	...	...	...		1	0			
Returns (subscriptions paid in error)	...	...	...	...	...		10	0			
									4	1	0
Paid to the Publisher for <i>The Year's Work</i> , 1906	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		64	0	3
Total expenses for the year to December 31st, 1907 †						...	...		268	9	3
Balance in bank	...	...	...	...	...	143	5	8			
Less cheques not presented	...	...	...	...	...	31	18	2			
Total cash balance						...	...		111	7	6
Investments :—											
£289 18s. 5d. New Zealand 3½% Stock...						288	15	0			
£200 India 3½% Stock						...	...		198	1	0
£100 Deposit Chartered Bank						...	...		100	0	0
Total investments						...	...		586	16	0

* Exclusive of £7 12s. for reporting.

† Exclusive of cost of *Proceedings*, October, 1906, £45 16s. 8d.; and £7 10s. for clerical assistance—accounts which came in too late.

31st December, 1907.

(Signed) C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS,
Hon. Treasurer.

£966 12 9

15

Supplement to the Balance Sheet

ACCOUNTS FOR "THE YEAR'S WORK," Vol. I. (As far as concerns the Association)

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
283 subscriptions from members, per Prof.						
Sonnenschein	24	15	3			
1 subscription, per Treasurer			1 9			
			<hr/>	24	17	0

Expenditure.

Payments to the Publisher:

Commission on 250 sales	12	10	0			
Part payment to staff of contributors ...	26	15	0			
283 subscriptions at 1s. 9d.	24	15	3			
			<hr/>	64	0	3

*Deficit, being loss to the Association 39 3 3

* This does not include the cost of posting notices to members.

APPENDIX

The following address was written by Dr. Postgate and presented on behalf of the Classical Association by Dr. Ashby, Director of the British School at Rome, to the Società Italiana per la diffusione e l'incoraggiamento degli Studi Classici, at its second meeting, held in Rome in April, 1906.

ITALORVM LITTERARVM GRAECARVM ET LATINARVM
FAVTO RV M ET VINDICVM SOCIETATEM
BRITANNORVM QVIBVS IDEM PROPOSITVM SOCIETAS
SALVERE IVBET.

Raro certe atque opportuno Fortunae utimur beneficio quod eo ipso tempore quo Vos alterum iam conuentum acturi estis paucis de nostro numero—uellemus quidem plures : sed plures ne essent incommoda negotiosis hoc anno ratio temporum prohibuit—Romam vestram illam urbium omnium dominam pulcherrimam inuisere contigit ut non solum animo atque cogitatione absentes sed praesentes quoque nonnulli inceptis Vestris faueamus.

Vt de factis primum Vobis gratulemur, ut in futurum prospera ac felicia omnia exoptemus, suadet illa iam omnibus nota Britannorum Italarumque amicitia. cuius ecquod insignius testimonium adferri poterit quam illud Vestrarium aetate atque usu comprobatum ac firmatum prouerbium

*bella ubiuis gerenda :
cum Britannis pax tenenda ?*

suadent communia nobiscum studia, communis ueterum monumentorum cum amor tum reuerentia, commune denique non aliena auertendi sed nostra atque adeo totius orbis terrarum bona conseruandi pium ac legitimum consilium. in fine rem illam nolumus praeterire quae, si non maximi momenti, tamen ne minimi quidem

est cum nostra Vobiscum commercia proxime attingat, prauum istum morem uerba Latina pronuntiandi

qui penitus toto diuiserat orbe Britannos

iam in eo esse ut effluat atque obsolescat. quod, Societatis nostrae opera maximam partem effectum, Vobis quoque placitum satis confidimus ut nihil iam uerendum sit, quod Platonius ille Socrates uereri se dicit, ne uideamur ὑπὸ φιλολογίας ἀγροικίεσθαι, προθυμούμενοι ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι διαλέγεσθαι καὶ φίλους τε καὶ προσηγόρους ἀλλήλοις γίγνεσθαι.

Valete atque in studia uniuerso hominum generi profutura feliciter, sicut coepistis, incumbitote.

LONDINIO DATVM MENSE MARTIO EKEVNTHE A. S. MDCCCVII.

[The Italian proverb referred to is :

Col mondo tutto guerra

E pace con Inghilterra.]

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RULES

*Adopted at the first General Meeting of the Association, May 28th, 1904;
Amended at the General Meeting, January 5th, 1906.*

1. The name of the Association shall be "THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION."

2. The objects of the Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and, in particular :—

- (a) To impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education;
- (b) To improve the practice of classical teaching by free discussion of its scope and methods;
- (c) To encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries;
- (d) To create opportunities for friendly intercourse and co-operation among all lovers of classical learning in this country.

3. The Association shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, a Council of fifteen members besides the Officers, and ordinary Members. The officers of the Association shall be members thereof, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

4. The Council shall be entrusted with the general administration of the affairs of the Association, and, subject to any special direction of a General Meeting, shall have control of the funds of the Association.

5. The Council shall meet as often as it may deem necessary, upon due notice issued by the Secretaries to each member, and at every meeting of the Council five shall form a quorum.

6. It shall be within the competence of the Council to make rules for its own procedure, provided always that questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes, the Chairman to have a casting vote.

7. The General Meeting of the Association shall be held annually in some city or town of England or Wales which is the seat of a University, the place to be selected at the previous General Meeting.

8. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected at the General Meeting, but vacancies occurring in the course of the year may be filled up temporarily by the Council.

9. The President shall be elected for one year, and shall not be eligible for re-election until after the lapse of five years.

10. The Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, and the Secretaries shall be elected for one year, but shall be eligible for re-election.

11. Members of the Council shall be elected for three years, and on retirement shall not be eligible for re-election until after the lapse of one year. For the purpose of establishing a rotation the Council shall, notwithstanding, provide that one-third of its original members shall retire in the year 1905 and one-third in 1906.

12. The Election of the Officers and Council at the General Meeting shall be by a majority of the votes of those present, the Chairman to have a casting vote.

13. The list of *agenda* at the General Meeting shall be prepared by the Council, and no motion shall be made or paper read at such meeting unless notice thereof has been given to one of the Secretaries at least three weeks before the date of such meeting.

14. Membership of the Association shall be open to all persons of either sex who are in sympathy with its objects.

15. Ordinary members shall be elected by the Council.

16. There shall be an entrance fee of 5s. The annual subscription shall be 5s., payable and due on the 1st of January in each year.

17. Members who have paid the entrance fee of 5s. may compound for all future subscriptions by the payment in a single sum of fifteen annual subscriptions.

18. The Council shall have power to remove by vote any member's name from the list of the Association.

19. Alterations in the Rules of the Association shall be made by vote at a General Meeting, upon notice given by a Secretary to each member at least a fortnight before the date of such meeting.

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF MEMBERS

February, 1908

* * *This list is compiled from information furnished by Members of the Association, and Members are requested to be so kind as to send immediate notice of any CHANGE in their addresses to Prof. W. C. F. WALTERS, 3, Douglas House, Maida Hill West, London, W., with a view to corrections in the next published List. The Members to whose names an asterisk is prefixed are Life Members.*

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NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF MEMBERS 125

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NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF MEMBERS 133

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- EDMONDS, J. M., M.A., Repton, Burton-on-Trent.
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- EDWARDS, H. J., M.A., Peterhouse, Cambridge.
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- WHISHAW, *Miss* E. H., M.A., Corran, Watford.
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 YOUNG, R. Fitzgibbon, M.A., The University, Leeds.
 YOUNG, R. T., M.A., The College, Brighton.
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TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF MEMBERS

(This is an index intended for reference only. For full titles the alphabetical list should be consulted. Names marked * denote the Local Correspondent for the place or district.)

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BEDFORDSHIRE—

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 King, J. E.
 Marsh, W.
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 Westaway, F. W.
Sandy . . . Edmonds, Miss U. M.
Woburn Sands . Whibley, C.

BERKSHIRE—

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 Layng, Rev. T.
 Moore, Rev. W.
 Stone, Rev. E. D.
 Tatham, M. T.
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 Vince, J. H.
Maidenhead . . Oldershaw, L. B. F.
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Pangbourne . . Devine, Alex.
Radley College . Field, Rev. T.
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Reading . . . Eppstein, Rev. W. C.
 Harris, H. W.
 Roscoe, H. W. K.
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 Austen-Leigh, E. C.
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 Booker, B. P. L.
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 Hornby, Rev. J. J.
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 Kindersley, R. S.
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 Luxmoore, H. E.
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 Hon. E.
 Macnaghten, H.
 Radcliffe, Rev. R. C.
 *Ramsay, A. B.
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 Stone, E. W.
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Stoke Poges . . . Parry, E. H.
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 Peile, J.
 * Rackham, H.
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- Sidney Sussex College* . . *Edwards, G. M.
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V. H.
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W. A.
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F.

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Joseph.

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Torquay . . Howard, Rev. A. W.

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Weymouth . . Iremonger, Miss E.

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Leytonstone . . Guthkelch, A.
Walthamstow . . Guy, Rev. R. C.

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ford . . . Case, Miss Esther.
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Harpenden . . . Valentine, J.

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Ware . . . Burton, Rev. Edwin.
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 Ritchie, F.
 Tait, Rev. G. A.
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Tonbridge . . . Kidd, B.
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Honnywill, M. J.

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Ashton-under-Lyne . . . Griffith, F. L.
Blackburn . . . See STONYHURST.
Blackpool . . . Sarson, Arnold.
Bolton . . . Archer, F.
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Henn, Canon.
Henn, Hon. Mrs.
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Lipscomb, W. G.
Richard, Miss K. A.
Bury . . . Jackson, Miss S. E.
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Fletcher, Frank.
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Myres, Prof. J. L.
*Strong, Prof. H. A.
(University).
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Woodward, Prof. W. H.
Manchester . . . Ashton, Mrs.
Ashworth, Miss H. A.
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Campbell, H. E.
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Conway, Mrs.
Cran, Miss L.
Crompton, Miss A.
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Dakers, H. J.
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Henry, Brother E.
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Higgins, Rev. P.
Hogg, Prof. H. W.
Hopkinson, Alfred.
Hopkinson, J. H.
Hughes, C.
Hulbert, H. L. P.
Kelly, Canon J. D.
Kelsey, C. E.
Knott, O.
Knox, Rt. Rev. E.
(Bishop of Manchester).
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Lilley, Miss M.
Limebeer, Miss D.
Love, Miss J.
MacInnes, J.
Marett, Miss J. M.
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Montague, C. E.
Montague, Mrs.
Moulton, Rev. J. H.
Norwood, G.
Paton, J. L.
Peake, Prof. A. S.
Roby, A. G. and Mrs.
Sadler, Prof. M. E.
Scott, Dr. John.
Shaw, Miss J. B.
Sidebotham, H.
Simon, Mrs. H.
Spencer, C. E. G.
Sutton, E.
Warburton, F.
Warman, A. S.
Waterlow, S.
Welldon, Bt. Rev.
Bishop J. E. C.
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Oldham . . . Gregory, Miss A. M.
Rochdale . . . Stenhouse, Miss S. E.
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Nicklin, Rev. T.
Taylor, G. M.
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 C. (Bishop of Salford).
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Stonyhurst Browne, Rev. J.
 Davis, Rev. H.
 Donovan, Rev. J.
 May, T.
 Plater, Rev. C. D.
 Scoles, Rev. I. C.
Wigan Eckersley, J. C.

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 Went, Rev. J.
Lutterworth Darlington, W. S.
Oadby Billson, C. J.

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Horncastle Walter, Rev. J. Conway.
Lincoln Fox, F. W.
 Wickham, Dean.
Louth Worrall, A. H.
Stamford Priestly, Miss E.

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 Morton, Miss A.
 Strudwick, Miss E.
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 Sanders, Miss A. F. E.
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 Spilsbury, A. J.
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Colet Court Bewsher, J.
 Giveen, R. L.
Colfe Gr. Sch. Lucas, J. W.
Dulwich Coll. Hose, H. F.
Dulwich H. S. Silcox, Miss L.
Emanuel School Macassey, E. L.
Hampstead Linnell, Miss (Private School).
 Marshall, Rev. and
 Mrs. D. H. (The Hall).
Highgate Gr. S. Lamb, J. G.

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Kensington Park High School Heppel, Miss E. A.
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 Legg, Rev. S. C. S.
 *Walters, Prof. W. C. F.
 Hales, J. F.
 Smith, Douglas.
 Wotherspoon, G.
Merchant Taylors' Sch. Atkey, F. A. H.
 Bamfylde, F. G.
 *Morley, A. M.
 Nairn, Rev. J. A.
 Stobart, J. C.
 Wells, G. H.
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N. London Collegiate Sch. Armstead, Miss H.
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 Loane, G. G.
 Mathews, L. H. S.
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 Phillips, J. L.
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 Rapson, Prof. E. J.
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PROCEEDINGS

1908

(VOLUME VI)

WITH RULES AND
LIST OF MEMBERS



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SIXTH GENERAL MEETING, BIRMINGHAM, 1908.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 8TH.

THE first session of the Association was held at the New University Buildings, Bournbrook, at 3 p.m., Mr. S. H. BUTCHER, M.P., in the chair.

The Rev. Professor HENRY BROWNE read a paper on :

THE TEACHING OF GREEK CHORAL METRE.

In advocating a radical change in our method of dealing with the external form of Greek lyrical poetry I believe that I shall have the sympathy of this audience. Our Association exists before all things for the bringing of life and reality into Classical education, and if you grant there are any weak spots at all in our prevailing system I think you will admit that I am calling your attention to one of them. In our grammar teaching we have learnt, or are learning, to subordinate theory to the practical needs of our students—in the teaching of metre this principle has yet, I think, to be enforced. When treated merely on theoretical lines nothing can be made more repulsive than Greek metre, nothing more utterly barren. It is my aim to show that the subject may be made, I will not say exactly easy, but at least fairly interesting, and most practical. It is practical in education to do anything towards giving the student a real knowledge of and sympathy with his subject, and especially if the subject be literature to give him a real insight into his author's mind and heart.

Now literature can hardly ever be studied, at least seriously, apart from its external form. Hence translations, however good, must be always inadequate. I do not say wholly useless. To-morrow we hope to listen to a translation of Euripides done by a masterly hand, and we shall not be losing our time. Besides, we have recently been informed of a very interesting experiment

now being made in this University—namely, the attempt to communicate some knowledge of the great masterpieces of Greece by means of translations. With that experiment I am heart and soul in sympathy; but I know I can appeal to Professor Sonnenschein and to Dr. Murray for support in saying that the beauty of literature consists very principally in its external form, and that of that form rhythm in poetry and even in prose is, as it were, of the very essence.

The question I am raising, however, has nothing to do with translations, but with Pindar's work in the original, with the work of Aeschylus and Sophocles, of Euripides and Aristophanes. To pretend to teach these authors to our students, and at the same time in the lyrical, that is in the more personal parts, to neglect all question of their metrical form and rhythmic intonation, is something marvellous. I should call it a crime. But on the other hand to pretend to deal with this feature, as it is usually dealt with, on a sort of algebraical basis, is something worse than a crime. I should call it a heinous blunder. I do not mean that metrical theory is to be entirely neglected. Of course, in order to be able to teach metre practically we must also study it theoretically. Grammar may be useful at times, but only so long as we remember that it is a means to the end; and, I repeat, we are only learning now this great lesson. As to choral metres I am certain that a great deal can be done with a modicum of theory, and certainly without all the jargon and all the controversy which many well-meaning persons believe to be the pith and marrow of the study.

We have got to use our ears as well as our calculating faculty. We must not be like the learned judge who decided that "when the spectacles are on the nose the eyes must be shut." If we want to appraise the music of Shelley or Milton, or even the rhythmical lilt of Rudyard Kipling, we know that we must keep our ears open: why should we close our ears to the lyric of Pindar and Aeschylus by treating it as though it were prose—bad and inflated prose it must certainly be. Prose indeed can be beautiful, almost as beautiful as verse, but not if its form can be mistaken for that of verse. Neither can verse be beautiful when it is stripped of its metrical form and invested with one that is alien to it.

But, it may be objected, metre and especially Greek Choral Metre is a difficult subject to impart to ordinary students at school or college. Certainly I grant it is a difficult subject, full of grave theoretical difficulties. But is not English metre also a very difficult and a very thorny topic? Yet what intelligent lecturer on English poetry of any epoch ever left out the question of rhythm—I mean the real rhythm, not merely the discussion of metrical problems which are perhaps well-nigh insoluble?

My advice, then, is, first of all be practical, put theory into the background, no matter what school of Metrical science you adhere to. Treat lyrical form as something real, something emotional, something human and humanising. Begin, of course, with the easier sorts of Metre. Take a single stanza, say from one of the easier logaoedic odes of Sophocles, or even Pindar, and hammer away at it till its sound is fairly mastered by the pupils. It will also be a great help to supply them with an English version, metrically equivalent to the Greek, observing not merely the quantities but the important caesuras. Such a translation may not attain the highest literary standard, though many Greek Metres when so treated will yield a fairly smooth and pleasant effect in an English form.

But here I come to what is more special in my own experiments—namely, the attempt to give a melodic equivalence to the various choral rhythms. For doing this no very profound musical knowledge is required. Besides, I feel certain that when in carrying out this method the assistance of musicians is desired, they will be always found most ready to give it. For myself it would be ungracious if I failed to acknowledge my obligation to several gifted musicians in Ireland for the help they gave me in preparing the records which I am going to use to-day. It is hardly necessary to say that any melodic rendering of any rhythm will aim at expressing the particular emotion which such rhythm may represent. It will follow the intonation, the repetitions, the cadences. If there is any contrast of one part with another, of course the melody will aim at marking it. At the same time the tune will be one fitted to “catch on.” All this may sound formidable to the non-musical person; but if you try it, if necessary with the assistance of a musical expert, you have no idea how easy it will become after a little practice. It will at

first be perhaps merely entertaining to the class (of course they must learn to sing the melody, not merely to hear it played or sung), and it will by degrees lead them on to ask many questions about the construction of the Metre, the sections, the pauses, the syncopations and resolutions, and the very choice of feet. They will want to know the reason for everything, and thus from practice they will be led on to theory.

After one stanza, or rather pair of strophes, is mastered, it will be surprising how much easier the second specimen submitted to the process will become. The same sort of cadences is constantly occurring, especially in the dramatists; and the prevailing forms are quite easily marked in spite of all the wonderful variety and elasticity which exist in genuine choral Metre, so different from the rigid second-hand imitations occurring so widely in Horace and other metrical plagiarists. Is it not sad to think how many Classical students there are who have read their *Bacchae*, probably with the most conscientious attention to very unlikely various readings, and yet whose knowledge of rising Ionic Metre is confined to *miserarum est neque amori*, just as they can tell you a great deal more about the Sapphics of Horace or even of Tennyson than they can about those of Sappho?

Proceeding by degrees to more difficult Metres, by far the larger part of them will lend themselves to melodic treatment. A residuum there will be found which is really difficult, and which must be left to the tender mercy of the mere theorist to discuss. But the residuum is small: a few odes, chiefly Paeonic, of Pindar and Bacchylides; and some of the experiments of Euripides, made at a period when the decadence of music, and I may add of the dramatic art, was setting in.

I propose to give you examples of logaoedic metre from Pindar and Sophocles, of Dorian (or Dactylo-epitrite) metre from Pindar, of Dochmiacs from Aeschylus, ending with a musical version of the "Ode to Love" from the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. Some of the melodies have been adapted from our existing fragments of Greek music, others have been derived immediately from the rhythm itself. Incidentally I shall touch on some theoretic points connected with the analysis of Dorian and Dochmiac metres, which are also illustrated by diagrams setting forth suggestions of different authorities.

The paper was followed by a gramophone demonstration, in the arrangement of which Professor HENRY BROWNE had the co-operation of Mr. ROBERT O'DWYER, of Dublin, and the University College Choral Union.

Professor J. W. MACKAIL read a paper on :

HOW HOMER CAME INTO HELLAS.

The Homeric question has now been with us for more than a century. Nearly half a century has passed since Arnold, in his famous lectures on translating Homer, made a serious attempt to estimate the nature and the quality of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as poetry. In such matters there is no finality ; but the time has now come when this attempt may at least be repeated in the light of a vast access of experience. During the last generation our knowledge of the ancient world, our methods of investigation, our armament of criticism, have all undergone immense expansion. We have reached a point at which it becomes possible to look about us, to sum up the results so far attained, and to set down certain things as either fixed or probable. Within the last few years, in particular, these results seem to have been clarifying and co-ordinating themselves. The work of specialists is being passed on to those who can use it critically and constructively. We still await some one to bring it together and vivify it, to give us back our Homer, enriched, understood, restored.

In this brief paper I merely propose to give a sketch or a suggestion of the position as it appears to me to stand now ; to offer what seem to me results, without the processes by which they are reached, without proof or argument. This in any case is all that the occasion allows ; and it is my apology for anything which follows that may seem, without this explanation, to be dogmatic. I shall be satisfied if I can suggest lines of thought, to be filled up or corrected by my hearers from their own knowledge, and according to their own literary or historical, and above

all according to their own poetical instinct. Much of what the modern Homeridae are concerned with does not enter into the scope of this paper at all. I pass over their theories, some, I frankly confess, because I do not know what they are, others because they are irrelevant. My object is now to consider the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* simply as two consummate achievements in poetry, from the point of view of one who considers poetry itself as a function, interpretation, and pattern of life. I ask you to regard with me the way in which Homer—using that word in its ordinary sense—came to be: the effect of Homer on the genius and life of the Hellenic civilisation, and of the Hellenic civilisation on Homer. For Homer was before Hellas: yet Hellas gave us Homer.

In history, nothing begins and nothing ends: and it is not possible to assign any precise date to the birth of the Greek race or the Greek genius. They emerge from obscurity in a period of which we know little, and are not likely to know much more. Some time about 1100 B.C. the movement of peoples began which goes by the name of the Dorian invasion. It broke into, and broke up, a mediaeval civilisation in the region afterwards known as Greece. But that was a long, slow process; the Middle Ages, then as once again in Western Europe, died hard, or did not wholly die at all; they changed their life. For a full century—say from 1050 to 950 B.C. (such dates are mere convenient symbols)—there was a great tide of migration and expansion. The old Achæan settlements were broken up. The Asiatic coast was colonised from Europe. The loosely knit texture of the Achæan communities slowly transformed itself into a system of more definite monarchies and aristocracies. Beneath these, there began the first stirrings of self-conscious life among the people. Thought began; and with thought came the instrument of thought, letters. The alphabet was in general use by the end of the century of migrations; with the adoption of the alphabet, both as cause and effect, came the beginnings of Greek literature, and we may say, of Greek life.

The new age inherited a rich tradition of story and song from the mediaeval life out of which it had risen. When, reaching comparative settlement, after a century of confusion and dislocation, it found in itself both the leisure and capacity for art, it

turned to those old inherited stories as to a world which had already taken on the enchantment of distance. The old Achæan, pre-Dorian world, still familiar in its ways of life as in its language and its dwelling-places, became idealised into an epic age. It was so idealised alike by its own descendants and by the Northern immigrants or conquerors who had mingled with them in blood and speech. This was so more especially on the Asiatic coast, where the fusion of the races was most complete. To these colonists, of whatever blood, came the appeal of a half-legendary past, with an overlordship of Argos and great deeds of a confederacy of princes. It came home to them all, as that of Arthur the Briton, of the Kingdom of Logres and the feats of the Round Table, came home to English, Normans, and French, no less than to Britons, on both sides of the English Channel. Achæan lays, traditionally transmitted, became the basis for both court and popular poetry. By 900 B.C., or thereabouts, we are in the age of the epic lays, the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν*. In both Iliad and Odyssey these earlier epic lays or *chansons de geste* have left unmistakable traces of their existence, and less certainly recoverable indications, now and then, of their actual form. The material of portions of the Iliad seems to have taken definite poetical shape on the mainland of Greece, in Thessaly or Boeotia, at an early period in the century of the migrations—probably while the Peloponnesus was still Achæan. But all this is guess-work: the elaborate inverted pyramids of reconstruction that have been successively built up by theorising scholars go down at a touch. In the hands of their most brilliant exponents they seem to take shape for a moment, then dissolve and stream away into the mist out of which they rose. The search after a primary Iliad and a primary Odyssey is in the main futile; so far as it is not, it is of little relevance. It is due to a deep-seated confusion between two things—a poem, and a story on which the poem was founded. “It is to the poet of the primary Iliad,” says Jebb, “if to any one, that the name of Homer belongs.” That sentence puts the fallacy in a succinct form. The answer to it is that there was no primary Iliad. So also, the saga which was the origin of the Odyssey probably took shape in Greece Proper before the migrations, or at least before its own migration. But this was not the original Odyssey, except in the sense in which certain chapters

in Saxo Grammaticus are the original *Hamlet*. The argument so often used, that "at least two poets have wrought" on this or that portion of the *Iliad*, generally amounts to no more than this, that the poet has there used at least two stories, at least two bodies of material.

By the beginning of the ninth century B.C. the epic lays, the κλία ἀνδρῶν, had become a whole body of literature, in the full sense of that term. For them a literary vehicle, the Aeolian or mixed language, had been evolved and brought to high perfection; a metrical form of unsurpassed flexibility and beauty had been wrought out; their overwhelming vogue had, so far as can be judged, eclipsed all other poetical forms and subjects. The potentialities of epic poetry were created; the time was ripe for the great epic poet.

Then the great epic poet came. Somewhere on the Ionian coast or among the adjacent islands, in a sky sown thick with dust of stars, a great planet rose. Homer conceived and executed the *Iliad*.

That *Iliad*, in its main substance and its essential form, is the *Iliad* which we possess now. It passed through many vicissitudes. It suffered, as we shall see presently, one long eclipse or submergence. It received accretions of substance, some of which at least are not from the hand of its original author. Its dialectical forms were modified: in details it was retouched and modernised. But it remained the same poem. The canonical *Iliad* issued at Athens in the sixth century B.C., which is to all intents and purposes our *Iliad*, is also to all intents and purposes the original and only *Iliad*, the work of Homer.

About a generation—it may be as much as two generations after the *Iliad*, the same poetical movement, the same quality of poetical genius, taking a fresh advance, produced the *Odyssey*. Speaking poetically, as a matter of art, the *Odyssey* implies the *Iliad* throughout. It is a work of lower poetical splendour but of higher technical skill. In this matter of technical skill the author of the *Odyssey* set himself, as it were, deliberately to excel the *Iliad*; somewhat—to use an analogy which is fertile if not overpressed—as the architect of Beauvais cathedral set himself, only five years later, to excel the architect of Amiens. The general tradition accepted through Greece later was that the

poems were by the same poet, but separated by a considerable interval of years. This view is rejected by the overwhelming majority of modern scholars ; but it cannot be said to be impossible. There is no precise analogy ; but the poet who produced the Iliad in the early prime of his life was, as one may put it, a poet capable of the artistic and poetical change which is felt in the Odyssey, among new surroundings, with an altered view of life, with an imaginative ardour burning less strongly, and with increased constructional mastery. As a masterpiece of construction the Odyssey is unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled in poetry. The tradition that it was the work of the advanced age of the poet of the Iliad is also in singular consonance with the fact that in the last books there may clearly be traced either a different or a failing hand. The last 624 lines were rejected by Alexandrian critics as a late addition. But there is more than that. Up to the 19th book the construction is masterly and the certainty of hand complete. From that point on to the end the constructive power flags ; the substance becomes confused, the workmanship unfinished or uncertain. Whether this is due to failing powers in an aging poet, or to his death (as was the case with Virgil and the Aeneid) before he had finished his work ; whether the last 2,000 lines of the Odyssey are as the poet of the Odyssey left them, or are the product of a continuator working on the poet's unfinished material, we can hardly guess. Internal evidence, Jebb thought, was conclusive as to the workings of a different mind in the Iliad and Odyssey. But a different mind may come to a poet with the lapse of years and with fresh experiences. Analogies are slippery. But if we turn to the most Homeric of English poets, we shall find a different mind in the *Life and Death of Jason* and in the *Story of Sigurd the Volsung*. If we turn to Milton, we shall find, even at the interval of but a few years, the workings of a different mind in the *Paradise Lost* and the *Paradise Regained*, in form, technique, and substance. We shall find an analogous lessening of tension, an analogous shrinkage of similes, a different way (as is said of the Iliad and Odyssey) of thinking of the Gods. The vocabulary and syntax show marked changes. Had the two poems reached us as the sole relics of a submerged world, subjected to all the subtle effects of changing dialect, of long transmission through imperfect

MSS., of dispersion and re-collection, it would not be beyond the power of scholars to make out a plausible case both for a primary *Paradise Lost* and for the attribution of *Paradise Regained* to a different author belonging to a later generation.

So it is, too, with the Aeneid. With it we know the facts for certain. Virgil wrought up into it masses of older material ; he left it unfinished at his death, full of varied readings, unfinished passages, unplaced episodes. It had to be arranged and edited by his executors. They did their work conscientiously and admirably ; in particular, they scrupulously refrained from adding even a word anywhere. But even so, had the Aeneid reached us without any collateral or external evidence as to the circumstances of its composition, did we possess it as the earliest known product of Graeco-Roman poetry, reaching us out of an unknown world, rising like an island out of unplumbed seas, it would be easy to trace in it the work of different hands. There would almost certainly have been some plausible theory of a primary Aeneid, and of its expansion by successive insertions. At least three poets would have been confidently named as responsible for the third, fourth, and sixth books, besides a fourth who worked them over to make them fit into the poem as it took final shape. Whole passages would have been obelised. An earlier theory that it was made up by the skilful piecing together of a series of short poems would have been succeeded by a theory that an original core, to which large accretions had been made, had been wholly re-edited and reshaped, and that the name of Virgil belonged, if to any one, to the author of the primary or Italian Aeneid.

By the end of the ninth century B.C. the Iliad and Odyssey existed : but Hellas did not yet exist. A century or more followed, the whole history of which is plunged in darkness. In literature, it is represented by the lost epics of the Cycle. Like the Chaucerians in England, the cyclic poets carried on the Homeric tradition with continually enfeebling powers : the record in both cases is one of swift decadence and growing incompetence ; in both cases the last feeble efforts overlap the birth of a new poetry. Their object was to supplement Homer : their method was to imitate him. The Cypria, written as an introduction to the Iliad, the Aethiopis, Iliupersis, and Nostoi

written to fill up the space between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, are dated early in the eighth century B.C. The stream of epic flows on from them in a fainter and fainter trickle, not wholly disappearing until the middle of the sixth century. Meanwhile, Hellas had been born.

In the dim records of the eighth century we can just trace the outlines of a life which was still pre-Hellenic, but which held in it the germ of Hellenism. The old kingdoms have mostly disappeared. Sybaris and Miletus are the two wealthiest and largest cities in the Greek world. Sparta and Athens are becoming important powers in Greece Proper. The afterglow of the mediæval world, which had produced the age of the epic, had faded out; and on the eastern horizon appears, pale and clear, the dawn of a new day.

The earliest of the Greek lyrists, in whom the voice of Hellas first manifests itself, do not go back much beyond 700 B.C. Already by that time the memory of the Homeric poems had become faint and dispersed. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, like two great mountain peaks, had retreated and become hidden behind the foot-hills of the Cycle. The new poetry, the poetry of Hellas, rose independently of them, except in so far as it was a distinct reaction from them, and except in so far as they had created a literary language which to a great extent remained that of the whole Greek world. The Greek genius had set itself to the two great creations which it introduced into the world and over which it spent its whole life—the creation of the state and the creation of the individual. The epic minstrels dwindled into court poets and became obsolete. For all the lyrists of the seventh and the earlier half of the sixth century, Homer might not have existed; we do not feel Homer in them.

In the sixth century begins the age of the democracies. It is then that Homer reappears. As the world travelled on, the foot-hills sank away, and in the broadening daylight the two great mountain peaks once more swam into the ken of Hellas. Homer had been brought to Sparta from Crete, we are told, nearly a century before lyric poetry was brought to Sparta direct by Tyrtaeus and Alcman. But if so, he had not remained there as a vital influence—he had not struck root. The recitation of Homer was stopped, we are told again, at Sicyon by Cleisthenes

about 600 B.C. Whatever this means, it means that Homer was no vital element in the life of Sicily: it was like Justinian's closure of the Schools of Athens. The re-emergence of Homer, the launching of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* upon the main current of Greek life, took place later. It took place at Athens in the time of Pisistratus. What Athens did for Homer, and what Homer did for Athens, we cannot say precisely; but we can say this largely, that Homer was the gift of Athens, and Athens the gift of Homer, to Hellas and to the whole world.

In an age of few written texts and no exact scholarship, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had only survived, as it were, by a series of miracles. There had been much interpolation, much confusion, much cutting up; but the organic unity and organic life of the poems were so complete and so powerful that they had come through substantially intact. The text of the *Odyssey*, the various texts of the *Iliad*, which were collected by the enthusiasm and industry of Athenian scholars, enabled them to reinstate and give universal currency to an *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which were in substance the authentic Homer.

The term I have just used must be more closely defined if it is not to be misunderstood. The authentic Homer was not a fixed text. This is no paradox; it only seems paradoxical because we are so accustomed to poems which have assumed a fixed text—before the invention of printing as well as after—from the moment of publication. But when reading and writing were arts laboriously exercised and confined to a small number of skilled experts, there was no such thing as publication. A poet then retained his poem more in his own possession; he did more freely, more as a matter of course, what it is his natural tendency to do—remodelled, retouched, recast, rearranged, reworded, what still remained fluid and plastic in his hands. If he chose, this process only ended with his life. Even after that, it went on among those into whose hands the poem passed, so far as they were not restrained by reverence for the text as they had received it.

For the *Odyssey*, with its close-knit and masterly construction, little had to be done. The larger and more elastic scheme of the *Iliad* had admitted more variation and interpolation; it had paid the price also of its wider diffusion and its greater popularity.

The work of the Athenian editors was clearly done with great judgment and with great conservatism. They may have carried further the Ionisation of the language which had been insensibly proceeding in the course of previous transmission. They were accused of having interpolated one or two lines ; we can hardly doubt that they removed a considerable amount of accretions which had found their way into one or another of the texts which were before them. But they retained the *Doloneia*, which even according to the old tradition was a separate epic lay, written by the author of the *Iliad*, but not a part of the *Iliad*. They retained the additions, clearly post-Homeric, which had found their way into the account of the funeral games : they retained the so-called little *Aeneid* of the 20th book, which has all the appearance of a late insertion. But it is impossible to credit later tradition that the *Doloneia* had not been inserted into the *Iliad* until then, and in the words of Eustathius, "Pisistratus added it." There is a vital difference, as all the members of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings are aware, between adding and refraining from removing an addition. Aristarchus at a later period obelised certain passages without removing them ; that was a further refinement of editing. But what they left unremoved, the Athenian editors did not add, any more than Aristarchus added what he did not obelise. For the words "Pisistratus added this," we ought to substitute, "The Pisistratean editors found and accepted this addition."

Their work in main substance and effect was a reconstitution, to the best of their power, of the authentic Homer ; and this was the Homer that they gave to Hellas and to future ages. When, three hundred years later, a fresh revision of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was made, the Alexandrian scholars did not, because they could not, go back behind the Athenian version. It was the Hellenic Homer. It issued from Athens, because Athens was already becoming the central focus of Hellenic art and life. But Athens became that, in great measure, through the Athenian capacity for appreciating Homer. If Athens in a sense made our Homer, Homer likewise in a sense made our Athens. Homer, says Plato in the *Republic*, has educated Greece—*παιδευκεν Ἑλλάδα*. Athens, we may remember, had herself been called by Pericles the *παιδευσις Ἑλλάδος*, "the education of Greece."

Both sayings are aspects of the same truth. Athens Hellenised Homer, and Homer through Athens moulded Hellas.

The effect of the re-emergence and dominance of Homer on the literature and life of the whole Greek world was swift and profound. From 500 B.C., or some years earlier, the whole of Greek literature implies Homer, is founded on Homer, is in organic connection with Homer throughout. Those great twin peaks dominate the whole landscape; their slopes feed the plains and cities of men with the produce of a hundred forests, the soil and water brought down by a thousand streams. The earlier Greek lyric, the flower of an age in which Homer was half forgotten, faded away or became transformed. The Attic drama was the creation of a Homerised Hellas with its Hellenised Homer. So, in varying measure, was the whole of classical Greek literature: not only the dramatists, not only the poets, but the orators, the historians, the philosophers.

Thus the touch of Homer upon Hellas had something of the same awakening and vivifying effect that the touch of Hellas has had, again and again, on later countries and ages. The movement of the sixth century B.C., which brought Homer into Hellas, was the first Renaissance. In the course of that movement the Homeric and the Hellenic genius were incorporated and became indissolubly one. Jointly they created what we mean by Greece; they created ideals towards which the human race has ever since turned its eyes. In that temple of the human spirit are ranged the Greek classics, the bronze and marble of fully developed Greek thought and art. Behind them the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* stand in the dusk of the inner sanctuary, like two statues in the ivory and gold of an earlier world. We measure and analyse them, we examine their chips and flaws, their rubbings and recolourings; we conjecture the elements out of which they grew, we try our best to reconstitute the world in which they were born; we please ourselves by tracing in them the work of successive hands and the accretions of successive ages. The Homeric question is always with us. So is Homer.

Dr. GILBERT MURRAY, in proposing a vote of thanks to Professor Mackail, said: "It is always a keen pleasure to me to listen to an address by Professor Mackail. I generally have the satia-

faction of agreeing with what he says, and even where I differ I cannot but enjoy the beauty of his style and exposition. On the present occasion I have been asked to make some little criticism of his remarks ; and I feel that, if only the hour of tea were not already upon us, this would be a fine opportunity for a gladiatorial display. Homer is naturally surrounded by a certain atmosphere of battle.

“ I will mention, then, roughly the points where I agree with Professor Mackail, and where I disagree, and I will take the disagreements first. As to his general method, I cannot help thinking that he is—well, impatient. He is expecting definite and precise answers to questions which can at present only receive indefinite and general answers. Our knowledge is not far enough advanced, I doubt if it ever will be, to admit of our answering the question, What particular man at what time of his life wrote such and such a poem of the prehistoric Greek tradition ? The questions about Virgil or Milton are not similar. There we know the individual poets, we know a good deal about their lives and the dates of their publications. The whole essence of the difficulty with regard to the Homeric poems is that we have no such evidence. The mass of poetry comes to us out of the unknown. Further, it was the habit of those times—as I was glad to hear Professor Mackail admit—for the poet to ‘ remodel, retouch, recast, and reword ’ what he wrote as any occasion—that is, any fresh performance or recitation of the poems—required. And after any given poet’s death the poems which he had recited passed—in MS. of course—into the hands of his disciples and heirs. They were not mere scribes. They were professional poets too ; and they continued the process. Surely, then, it is premature to suggest that a particular man with a particular name did the whole of this or the whole of that. The poems have certainly passed through the hands of many generations of poets, each of whom must have had a good deal of freedom in his treatment of them.

“ One should also remember that the differences and discrepancies found between different parts of the poems and between the Iliad and the Odyssey are not mere differences of style, like those between one book of Virgil and another. They are not like that at all. They lie generally in small unconscious

points, which, when once studied, are found to imply a different geographical origin, a different century of composition, a different religious outlook or the like. The evidence is of course so vast that I cannot do more than refer to it. But among quite recent works, if you take Mr. Drewitt's researches into the use of the augment in different parts of the poems, or Signor Della Seta's discoveries of the variation in the use of 'Αχαιοί, 'Αργεῖοι, Δαναοί, of 'Ἴλιον and Τροίη, 'Αθήνη and 'Αθηναίη (*Classical Quarterly*, 1908, and *Rendiconti Re. Ac. Lincei*, July 1907), you find that they are not in the least the sort of differences that can be explained by a change in the mental growth of a particular man. I believe that the line to follow just at present is to try to make out much more slowly the differences of source, of mythological background, of locality and of date. It is remarkable what results have been attained in a similar problem by the mere analysis of the mythological material in Paul Friedländer's recent book, 'Herakles,' *Philolog. Untersuch.* xix.

"There is another point on which I seriously hope that Professor Mackail will reconsider his views: that is, his treatment of the so-called Cyclic Epics. I do not like that name. It has implications which are misleading. But the state of the case is that we have the two great Epics intact, and besides them we have some knowledge—a few quotations, innumerable indirect records, through mythology and through other forms of art—of a great mass of other Epic literature. I believe it is admitted, almost without exception, by anthropologists that the matter and content of that non-Homeric tradition is in many ways older and not later than the main content of the Iliad and Odyssey. That is to say, the old doctrine which we were taught at school, that the characteristics of these non-Homeric epics, the purification and magic and anthropological stuff generally, were late, and that these sagas were late inventions made to fill up the gaps left by the Iliad and Odyssey—that doctrine may almost be said to have been definitely disproved.

"I turn gladly to the points where I agree with our lecturer, and where he has helped my understanding. The way in which Professor Mackail puts the problem seems to me useful, and indeed illuminating. 'How Homer came to Hellas' is exactly the right question to ask. We do find that when the Homeric

poems—coming, we may assume, from Ionia and in their practically complete form, though not quite with a fixed text, as the Flinders-Petrie papyri have demonstrated—when the poems came into the mainland of Greece, they produced an immense change in thought and literature. I know nothing that illustrates this point so clearly and vividly as the recently discovered papyrus of Corinna. Corinna was not particularly early—a contemporary of Pindar; but for various reasons she was uninfluenced by the inrush of heroic poetry and saga from Ionia, and she forms the strangest contrast with Pindar or even Stesichorus. Her metres are folk metres, her language—though slightly disguised in the papyrus—is at least not epicised, like that of all other Greek poets; her myths are the local folk-lore of her own Boeotian valleys—the strife of the mountains Helicon and Kithaeron, the marriages of the daughters of the river Asopus.

“I fully agree, too, with that fruitful thought of Professor Mackail’s, that the coming of Homer implies something like the revival of a lost middle age, something like a first Renaissance. There are some difficulties in detail in the thinking out of this problem; for Homer never seems to have been quite forgotten. The poems were never suddenly discovered in a box intact, as Aristotle’s books were. But I will not dwell on those.

“When all is considered, there does of course remain the unity of the poems. I am anxious to admit that, in the most handsome way, to anybody to whom it will be any satisfaction. The *Iliad* as we have it is a unity; so is the *Odyssey*—though of course a different unity. As to their being by the same author, I am inclined to believe—nay, I feel really certain that many of the poets who worked at the *Iliad* worked also at the *Odyssey*. The point where I should like slightly to modify Professor Mackail’s conclusions is this. I think Professor Mackail seemed to imply that when his single almost superhuman Homer arose the Saga was in existence but it was not in poetical form.”—(Professor MACKAIL: “No: I did not say that.”)—“I remember now. Professor Mackail did not say that. He spoke of poetry of some sort existing. I will explain my point in this way. I think it can be seen from an analysis of the poems, both from the sutures and from the passages which seem to come from some other definite source, that the proceeding of any given final poet—if

we may so call him—was very often not to take some existing bit of poetical saga or inferior ballad work, and work it up himself into his own incomparable style, but actually to take up bodily and practically word for word some large stretch of hexameter verse already existing. Roughly speaking, wherever in the process of development we put our ‘supreme poet,’ we find that very fine poetry indeed was there before him and very fine poetry indeed was added after him.

“I fully agree, too, that there has been a process of ‘clarifying and co-ordinating’ in the results of criticism. I have been trying to realise this in the case of myself and Mr. Andrew Lang, who has more than once criticised my book on the Epic. And we can get a good way towards agreement. I, guided partly by arguments from analogy and partly by others, want a long period of growth and development, similar in some ways to that which has demonstrably been passed through by some books of the Old Testament and by most mediaeval epics. I find that Mr. Lang will grant me that; I gather that Mr. Mackail will, too. They will probably ask me in return to grant them, at some one moment, a single tremendous and unique poet who by the impress of his personality altered the whole thing, and whose works were treated as almost sacred by the poets who succeeded him. And there I have some difficulty. If Mr. Lang would only be content and take three or four! I will grant him three or four supreme poets, and at least a dozen who were very excellent poets in their way also. If among all the children of the prophets, among all the poets who kept these epics constantly alive by their recitations, Professor Mackail and Mr. Lang insist on the enormous superiority of some single man, whose works minor poets did not dare to alter . . . well, then I do feel a difficulty. We must begin to argue again. Still I think the difference between us has been reduced within certain limits, and a process of clarification has really taken place.

“It is most unsuitable, I know, for me, in moving a vote of thanks to my friend Professor Mackail, to have made my remarks almost entirely controversial. But here we are, a number of serious classical students, interested in our subject and wanting business. I am sure that my old friend will forgive me, and I trust that you will believe that I do feel very grateful to the

Professor for the pleasure with which I listened to his paper and for what I have learned from it."

Dr. MAHAFFY seconded the vote of thanks. He said that during part of Professor Mackail's paper he almost thought he was listening to his old friend Mr. Gladstone, who in former days was considered a great Homeric scholar, but whom they began to doubt in middle life because he suspected the same man had written the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Professor MACKAIL said he thanked the audience for listening to a paper which must have seemed unorthodox to the verge of blasphemy. With the whole anthropological argument he had little concern, but he should like just to explain one point where he had evidently failed to make himself clear. He did not for a moment mean that the stories which the poet of the *Iliad* interwove into the *Iliad* existed until that time merely as stories and had not been put into poetical form. The direct contrary of that was undoubtedly the case. There could be no doubt that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* contained masses of previous poetry. It was possible that the greater part of both poems might be so made up; but looking at it from the point of view of poetry, as creative art, that did not touch the question of unity. The *Iliad* was, as a work of art, one. The doctrine of artists in this matter coincided with the doctrine of men of science, that when we were regarding the evolution of any form of life—and poetry was a function of life—we ought not to regard any organism as a thing part of which might have happened and the rest not. That doctrine was at the basis of all biological study and all advance in the knowledge and the theory of life. That doctrine or an analogous one ought to be at the basis of all our study of poetry. In that sense he held by the unity of Homer. When he spoke of the ascription of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to a single poet, he did not think that himself, but he did not think it was disprovable.

At 4.30 p.m. the members of the Association were received by the Vice-Chancellor (Alderman C. G. BEALE) and Council of the University of Birmingham in the Great Hall of the New University Buildings at Bournbrook. After tea small parties were made up under the guidance of members of the University to visit the various departments of the building set apart for the teaching of

Pure and Applied Science, also the Hall of Residence for women students, which has recently been erected in the neighbourhood of the University.

At 8 p.m. the members of the Association, together with their hosts and hostesses and other invited guests, were received at a *Conversazione* in the Council House by the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor of Birmingham (Councillor H. J. SAYER).

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9TH.

THE second session of the Association was held in the Old University Buildings (Edmund Street), Mr. S. H. Butcher in the chair. At 11 a.m. Professor SONNENSCHN read a paper entitled—

THE UNITY OF THE LATIN SUBJUNCTIVE.¹

This paper has its origin in the conviction that the treatment of the subjunctive mood in some recent Latin grammars intended for the use of schools has been complicated by the raising of a number of issues which from the point of view of practical school work are irrelevant; and that the important chapter of Latin syntax which deals with the moods is nowadays becoming unnecessarily and increasingly difficult—I will not say to beginners, but to all students of Latin. My argument, therefore, has a practical side; but that is not all. I have been led to certain conclusions of a purely scientific character which I desire to submit to my friends of the Classical Association for criticism. And though it by no means follows that what is scientifically true is necessarily convenient and intelligible in practice, yet I believe that in this case science and practice go hand in hand—why should they not?—and that what I hold to be true about the Latin moods will also be found teachable. At any rate I want to see whether something in the way of simplification of practical teaching may not come of it.

The importance of the subject need not be insisted upon in an assembly of classical scholars and teachers. The subjunctive mood is the crux and the touchstone of Latin scholarship; and again Latin as a school subject is on its trial. An immense

¹ An abstract of a longer paper which will shortly be published by Mr. John Murray (for the Classical Association), Albemarle Street, W. The footnotes have been added subsequently to the delivery of the paper.

responsibility rests on teachers of Latin at the present day. We must look to it not only that its human interest be exhibited in an attractive light, but also that its grammatical structure be presented to pupils without darkening of counsel. But I feel that I must apologise for casting a gloom at the very start of this day's proceedings on what the Organising Committee has done its best to make a cheerful occasion. Possibly, however, visitors to this busy workshop of the Midlands will not be surprised at our presenting them with samples of this among other kinds of hardware. Out of Birmingham came Professor Postgate and Mr. Vince, both of whom we are glad to see here to-day. The great Dr. Kennedy spent the early years of his school life—so tradition runs—at King Edward's School, nearly a century ago. Mr. John Barrow Allen was a master in the Edgbaston Proprietary School, which closed its doors in 1881. And it was in Birmingham that the Grammatical Society was inaugurated in 1886, from which emanated the Parallel Grammar Series. Dr. Holden and Charles Rann Kennedy, though they did not write grammars, were Birmingham men nevertheless. I am, in fact, almost tempted to plead that Birmingham is the predominant partner in the production of this kind of literature; or at any rate that a son or adopted son of Birmingham can hardly help being grammatical.

Not that all Birmingham men see eye to eye on all points of grammatical doctrine, or even agree more among themselves than they do with grammarians belonging to other places and nations. To the latter category belongs a distinguished Vice-President of this Association and personal friend of my own, whose absence to-day I specially regret because I have to challenge some part of the doctrine with which his name is associated. Those of us who listened last year at Cambridge to Professor Hale's powerful indictment of the metaphysical school of grammarians in his paper on "The Heritage of Unreason in Syntactical Method" must have been impressed by the strength of his argument on its negative side: I for one accept his main conclusion as proven, and I promise him to remove from the next edition of my own Latin Syntax the last vestige of metaphysics, which, as he noted, still lurks in an obscure corner of it.

But does it follow that we must accept the substitute which is

offered us by the school of grammarians of which Professor Hale is a protagonist? That doctrine may be seen in the Latin Grammar by Professors Hale and Buck. For the metaphysical method they substitute what they regard as an "historical" method. The various uses of the subjunctive mood in Latin are traced to their supposed Indo-European prototypes and classified accordingly. We thus arrive at seven distinct kinds of Latin subjunctive—distinct in origin and in meaning: the "volitive subjunctive" and the "anticipatory subjunctive" (these two being offsprings of an Indo-European subjunctive) and the "optative subjunctive," the "subjunctive of obligation or propriety," the "subjunctive of natural likelihood," the "subjunctive of possibility," and the "subjunctive of ideal certainty" (these five being sprung from an Indo-European optative). In this way we get instead of one subjunctive mood seven subjunctive moods; and the pupil is expected to find salvation in distinguishing them and referring every example which he comes across in his reading to one particular kind, or in recognising it as a cross-breed springing from two—or more—of the parent seven. For example, *volo ut facias* contains a "volitive" subjunctive, but *opto ut facias* an "optative" subjunctive, the verb of the subordinate clause being in the one case an expression of Will, in the other an expression of Wish. *Eloquar an sciam?* contains a "volitive" subjunctive because the speaker is inquiring as to the Will of the hearer; *hunc ego non admiror?* contains a subjunctive of obligation or propriety, because the speaker inquires as to what *ought* to be done as distinct from what is willed by the hearer; *qui sciam?* contains a subjunctive of natural likelihood because the speaker means "how is my knowing likely?" as distinct from "how is it willed?" and from "how is it obligatory or proper?" and so forth.

Now if the separate identity of these seven parents stood on an immutable basis of scientific evidence, any difficulties which the doctrine involves to the student of Latin might fairly be said to be inevitable. *Tant pis pour les élèves.* In the long run the pupil has everywhere to accommodate himself as best he can to the march of science. And it is only because I venture—though not without fear and trembling—to call into question the scientific validity of one of the fundamental postulates of this school of

grammarians that I am inflicting this paper upon you. I want to suggest some reasons for thinking that the seven subjunctives of this theory are not distinguishable in the way in which the theory supposes—that they are in fact not seven subjunctives but one subjunctive.

But let me state my case in the most moderate form. These seven Latin subjunctives which Professor Hale says express “distinct” ideas are traceable, according to Professor Hale’s own view, to two sources—(1) the Indo-European subjunctive expressing Will; (2) the Indo-European optative expressing Wish. From these two the other five were derived by gradual developments of meaning. How then does it stand with the two prototypes? Is Will really distinguishable for grammatical purposes from Wish? and if so, on what lines? Well, the psychologists tell us that there is a very real distinction. Wishes are expressions not of will, but of that incipient form or element of will which is called desire by psychologists¹—e.g. “May you live for ever,” as contrasted with “Do my bidding.” But *this* distinction between wish and will is surely a very fine one, which it takes a psychologist fully to realise; and it is attributing a high degree of psychological subtlety to those who in early Indo-European days used the two moods, to suppose that such a distinction was consciously present to their minds. When the prehistoric man said ζῶης, or whatever form corresponded thereto in Indo-European, did he consciously realise that he was not expressing his *will* but only his *wish*? If so, how is it that the Greeks and Romans often, indeed ordinarily, expressed ideas like “may you live,” “farewell,” etc. by the use of the *Imperative*?—e.g. χαῖρε, εὐρύχει, ἔppωσο, *salve, vale*, etc. Similarly in English: “O King, *live* for ever.” The imperative is a mood which all grammarians treat as the mood of Will *par excellence*; not a single Greek or Latin grammar known to me recognises any such thing as an imperative of Wish as distinct from an imperative of Will. Nor, I may add, did Protagoras, one of the earliest students of the moods in Greek; for he found fault with Homer for giving utterance to a command instead of a prayer in μῆτιν

¹ Professor Hale defines the difference otherwise (*Grammar*, p. 239, note): “*Will* has regard to something felt by the speaker to lie within his control; *wish* to something felt to lie outside of his control.”

ἀεῖδε θεά: which shows that he too, like our modern grammarians, imagined that the imperative mood was limited to commands in the narrowest sense of the term.¹ Yet if the psychological distinction which is invoked in order to distinguish the optative from the subjunctive were really valid in grammar, grammarians ought to recognise two kinds of imperative—an imperative of Will and an imperative of Wish. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Consider for a moment such an ordinary phrase as *vive, vale* (Hor. *Epist.* I. 6. 67) or *vive valeque* (Hor. *Sat.* II. 5. 110). You cannot *command* a man to continue alive or to fare well, for that does not depend on his will or lie in his power.² These and similar imperatives, then, are not commands, but expressions of wish. But to the consciousness of the Greeks and Romans there was surely no greater demarcation of expressions like the above from expressions of will than there is to our consciousness at the present day. Compare with the above-mentioned expressions of wish an expression of command, like *vive memor quam sis aevi brevis* (Hor. *Sat.* II. 6. 97), where the town mouse is giving instructions to the country mouse as to *how* he ought to live. It takes an act of reflection to realise that, though you cannot command a man or a mouse to continue alive, you can quite well command him or it to live in a particular way, as in "live contented," "live wisely."

Now the fact that will and wish find their unity in the imperative is to me a strong argument that a similar unity lies behind the subjunctive and the optative moods. The imperative is my petard with which I hoist the theory that the subjunctive and the optative have fundamentally distinct meanings. But it is not necessary to appeal to the imperative. The optative itself often has a meaning which, if analysed on psychological lines, will be found to be an expression not of wish but of will. I refer to that use of the mood which is now generally recognised under Delbrück's name of the "prescriptive optative"; e.g. *πιθόω μοι*

¹ See Aristotle, *Poet.* xix.

² Commands proper (and also requests and prayers) not only express the will of the speaker, but also make a direct appeal to the will of the person addressed or spoken of. This I have attempted to establish in my longer paper, on the basis of a psychological classification of the various kinds of sentence concerned.

in Homer, "listen to me," which is psychologically a command ; ¹ Monro called it a "gentle or deferential imperative" (Homeric Grammar, § 299). It seems, then, that the optative of wish breaks up under the stress of psychological analysis, just like the imperative of command.

What, then, is our result ? The imperative expresses wish as well as will ; the optative expresses will as well as wish. My inference is that these moods expressed to the ancients not so much *both* of these ideas, but rather *neither* of them as distinct from the other—not will *as distinct from* wish, nor wish *as distinct from* will, but rather a vaguer idea in which the distinction between will and wish had not emerged into consciousness.

Now how does it stand with the Indo-European subjunctive ? The doctrine of Professor Hale and his school in general is that the fundamental idea of the subjunctive is Will, as of the imperative. Here I propose to adopt a different line of criticism, which I think will bring out my contention from a new point of view. I will take my examples (for the sake of simplicity) from Latin, i.e. from Professor Hale's category of the "volitive subjunctive." Now, let us ask, If these subjunctives express will, whose will is it that is expressed ? The answer ordinarily given is that in independent sentences the subjunctive of volition expresses the will of the *speaker* : e.g. *abeas*, "go away," *taceas*, "hold your tongue," etc. But this applies only to non-interrogative sentences : so soon as the same kind of subjunctive—Professor Hale admits that it is the same kind—becomes interrogative, it no longer need express the will of the speaker—e.g. *abeam* ? ("do you bid me go away ?"), *abeas* ? ("does somebody bid you go away ?"), *abeat* ? ("does somebody bid him go away ?"). There is nothing in the *mood* to enable us to identify the willer. Again, when we come to subordinate clauses, the willer need not be the speaker : e.g. *Apollo imperat ut faciam*. Here the willer is Apollo. Who the willer is is always a matter of *inference* ; it is not expressed by the modal inflexion, nor is it by the personal inflexion. The only person indicated by the verb is the person who *is to act* (indicated by the personal inflexion *m, s, t*, etc.). The Will, now here, now there, deserves to be called a "will o' the wisp."

¹ Because it makes a direct appeal to the will of the person addressed.

I have already indicated my own belief as to what these so-called "volitive" subjunctives really express. They express, I think, not "volition" in the psychological sense of the term,—this idea, when present, is merely *inferred* from the context,—but something vaguer: I will call it *obligation*, using that term in a broad sense unknown to metaphysicians.¹ By "obligation" I mean simply the concrete idea that something *is to be* or *has to be*; it includes the ethical idea of "ought," but it is far wider; it embraces what I will call the idea of a merely *logical* or *physical* "ought"—the idea which we with our metaphysical terminology might define as that of determination by a law of thought or of nature, but which the ordinary non-metaphysical Roman would hardly have recognised under that description—the idea that something is *bound* to be or to happen: as in the sentences "If my sight fail not, you *should be* the lord ambassador" (Queen Katharine in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.*); "Ginger *shall be* hot in the mouth"; "As the tree falls, so *shall it lie*." In fact, the Latin subjunctive expresses, I think, something like what is expressed by the English verb "shall" in the above instances: *abeas*, "you shall go away"; *eloquar an sileam*? "shall I speak or shall I be silent?" *Apollo imperat ut facias*, "Apollo commands that you shall do it," *fiat*, "it shall be done," and so forth. When once one grasps this point of view, it is extraordinary how everything seems to drop into its right place, in particular the subjunctive of the so-called "deliberative" question; e.g. *quid faciam*? "what shall I do?" = "what am I to do?" This is simply an interrogative use of the *faciam* which means "I shall (= am to) do it." The following types of subjunctive I also regard as revealers of the bed-rock meaning of the mood. The isolated phrases of the type *videas*, *audias*, *invenias* (2nd person sing.)—commonly called "potential"—seem to me to be analogous to a peculiar use of the English "shall" which makes its appearance (curiously enough) in precisely the same type of expressions—"you shall see," "you shall hear," "you shall find," e.g.:

His merits balanced, you *shall find*

The laureate leaves them far behind (SWIFT).²

¹ i.e. what is incumbent on the person denoted by the personal inflexion (*m*, *s*, *t*, etc.).

² See my note on Plautus, *Mostellaria*, 243 (2nd ed., 1907).

And if the subjunctive has fundamentally a meaning something like that of the English "shall," it is easy to see how it should have come to express little more than futurity: I refer to the "anticipatory" or "prospective" subjunctive (to use terms for which Prof. Hale and myself are severally responsible): *e.g.*

Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,
Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris

("who *shall* limit his empire with ocean, his glory with the firmament"—Professor Mackail's translation). The English verb "shall" originally denoted obligation or debt; but it has come to express pure futurity in certain persons (the 1st person in independent sentences and all persons in dependent clauses). The same sort of thing, I hold, has happened in the case of the Latin subjunctive; and one is confirmed in this view when one reflects that all, or nearly all, Latin and Greek future indicatives started on their careers as subjunctives, and retain in their developed usages many traces of their subjunctive origin (*e.g.*, *post nonam venies*, "come after the ninth hour"); and, further, that every future indicative of the Romance languages was originally an expression of obligation or necessity, *e.g.*, *j'aimer-ai*, "I have to love," *tu aimer-as*, "you have to love," etc.

I might, did time permit, trace this "shall" idea through a number of the chief subjunctive usages: *e.g.*, the two subjunctives of the conditional sentence. A simple "shall" seems to me often the best rendering in both the clauses, *e.g.*—

Ter si *resurgat* murus aeneus
Auctore Phoebō, ter *pereat* meis
Excisus Argivis.

("If thrice the brazen wall *shall rise* . . .
Thrice it *shall fall*.")

"A shall be B" easily develops a postulative¹ meaning—"let A be B," "supposing A to be B," and so we get the protasis. And the subjunctive of the apodosis ("C shall be D") seems

¹ I am indebted for the term "postulative" to my friend and former pupil, Mr. H. Thomas, of the British Museum. It may be applied to instances like *Ecquis alius Sosia intus, qui mei similis siet?* (Amph. 856). The relative clause is what the speaker postulates or requires in his question: the other Sosia about whom he is inquiring *must be* like the Sosia who is speaking, if he is to answer to the requirement.

to me often¹ to express merely logical obligation—"C ought to be D."

Thus from "A shall be B, C shall be D," we get, "Supposing that A is B, C ought to be D." But I must be brief. Of course there are a number of developed usages of the mood in Latin, the origin of which it is difficult to trace convincingly on any theory. But I am speaking of the subjunctives of *meaning*, if I may so express myself (e.g., those found in simple sentences and in final and prospective clauses); and I maintain that some *shall*-idea is the real key to these.² If so, we English-speaking nations ought to bless our stars that we have been provided by the accident of language with a verb which seems to have been designed by Providence to make Latin modal syntax intelligible to us.

But I am quite ready to admit that in any particular context the subjunctive *seems* to express something more than this *shall*-idea. Or rather I do not admit it; I insist upon it. For example, when the young man Pistoclerus in the *Bacchides* of Plautus says *Abeas*; *celeriter factost opus* ("Be off, and look sharp about it"), he is uttering a command and a brusque one. Yes; but this brusqueness is not expressed by the modal inflexion *per se*, but by the sentence as a whole—i.e. partly by the environment in which the subjunctive stands, by its setting or "context."³ This may be shown by comparing a slightly different context. When the Lorarius in the *Rudens* says *Abeas si velis*, he is uttering not a brusque command but an expression of permission: "you may go away if you like." If we were to insert (instead of *si velis*) *utinam* or *velim*, the *abeas* would become an expression of wish;

¹ Not always. In some cases other *shall*-meanings are more in place—e.g. the clause with *percat*, quoted above, expresses the resolve of Juno.

² Moreover, I believe that the apparently formal uses of the subjunctive (such as those found in dependent questions relating to a matter of fact, and in consecutive clauses denoting an *actual* result, and in certain *cum*-clauses) are to some extent *traceable* to the same idea; though, owing to a process of syntactical disintegration, the proper meaning of the mood has receded into the background, with the result that the subjunctive has come to be practically equivalent to an indicative in meaning. This I have discussed more fully in my longer paper.

³ Under the term "context" I include everything that stands in the sentence except the modal inflexion itself. For instance, the personal inflexion (*m*, *s*, *t*, etc.) is part of the "context." So, too, is *celeriter factost opus* in the instance quoted.

if *aquissimum est*, it would become an expression of obligation or propriety ; if *vix*, an expression of possibility. But the *abeas* (I maintain) is the same *abeas* all the way through. The full meanings of command, wish, possibility, etc., are mere accidents of the context ; and the distinctions between these ideas were (I hold) not consciously realised by the Romans when they uttered these sentences. They are simply *our* metaphysical or psychological interpretation of what was going on in *their* unmetaphysical minds—*our* attempt to realise in full consciousness what *to them* was at most semi-conscious or sub-conscious.

To illustrate still more clearly the influence of the context in determining the full meaning of a mood, take the sentence—

Feras—non culpes—quod mutari non potest,
(*Pubilius Syrus*, No. 176, Ribbeck)

“you should (= ought to) put up with, not find fault with, what cannot be altered,” “what can’t be cured should be endured”—one of those sententious sayings of which the Romans were so fond. The sentence as a whole is clearly an expression of ethical propriety or obligation. But take away the two words *non culpes* and what remains might just as well be non-ethical in meaning : “what can’t be cured *must necessarily* be endured.” (I could quote parallels for this use of the subjunctive did time permit me to furnish the evidence on which the apparently dogmatic utterances of the present paper are based). But with the words *non culpes* this sense is impossible : “what can’t be cured must be endured, *and you must necessarily not find fault with it.*” Let us try another experiment : substitute for *non culpes* an expression which has distinct associations with commands—*ne culpes*. This at once reacts on the *feras* and turns that too into a command : “bear and do not find fault with what cannot be cured.” It is all a matter of the context. The subjunctive is a chameleon whose colour depends on its environment. Apart from metaphor, the subjunctive modal inflexion is only *one of the factors* which go to express the meaning of the sentence as a whole. The mood merely *suggests* an idea which, if it needs to be rendered more explicit, depends for its expression on other elements in the sentence ; somewhat as an image on the retina of the eye suggests but does not in itself convey the

idea of a solid object. Try the effect of removing the if-clause from the sentence in Queen Katharine's speech quoted above (p. 9): "you should be lord ambassador," standing by itself, might mean something quite different from what it means in its setting.

But if this was so with the Indo-European subjunctive (and I may add the optative and the imperative) the task of tracing their descendants in Latin becomes a hopeless one. It is like tracing the genealogy of a person whose remote ancestors had a double or treble personality—like asking whether the ancestor was Hyde as distinct from Jekyll or Jekyll as distinct from Hyde. In my longer paper I have pointed out some of the special difficulties involved in this kind of linguistic pedigree-tracing; but these I must pass by here.

Had there not happened to be distinct *forms* for the subjunctive and the optative in Greek and Sanscrit, we should probably never have heard of these elaborate attempts at psychological distinctions of meaning. But it is a great mistake to assume that to different *forms* of a language there always attach different *meanings*. This fundamentally false assumption is constantly made; yet two distinct forms may be synonymous.¹

¹ For example, the two aorists of Greek, whose synonymity dates from the earliest Indo-European times (Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, ii. p. 562). There is, then, no reason why the subjunctive and the optative inflexions may not have been synonymous at some very early stage (both of them denoting the same vague idea of "obligation"), and have been only gradually differentiated in use through a long process of development. And this view is confirmed by the fact that the farther we go back in the history of Greek and Latin the more we find the meanings of the subjunctive and the optative forms overlapping. In Homer there is far more overlapping than in Attic Greek; in Plautus the optatives *duim*, *duis*, *dui* have the same general range of meaning as the subjunctives *dem*, *des*, *det*; and it is not till we come to the classical period that *duis*, *dui* are limited to formulae of prayer and expressions of wish. The last stage in the process of differentiation has been reached in our modern lecture-rooms, where the distinctions between the various uses of the subjunctive and optative have been defined with a rigidity of which no Greek or Roman ever dreamt. The course of development I should therefore describe as a process from a unity of vague meaning to a multiplicity of more or less distinct meanings. No doubt, at a certain stage in the history of the languages grammatical theory (chiefly of Stoic origin) stepped in to bring together in one or more paradigms forms and meanings which had not been consciously thought of as

One word in conclusion. If the point of view which I have briefly and imperfectly set forth has truth and solidity in it, it ought to mean a liberation of school teaching from some of the burdens which have been imposed on it in the name of science. And I think I see in rough outline how my principles will work in practice. But it would take too long to enter into the question how the subjunctive should be treated in a school grammar. One thing I am clear about: it will no longer be possible to treat this mood as a form without meaning, which makes its appearance in certain kinds of sentences according to some mechanical rule—and that is about as far as the ordinary schoolboy gets. So far I am sure Prof. Hale would agree with me; his whole grammar is a protest against merely mechanical interpretations of the subjunctive. In any case, believing as I do that the meaning which I have assigned to the subjunctive will be found useful in practice as well as in theory, I desired to lay my views before this Association; and I throw myself on your mercy.

Professor CONWAY congratulated the Meeting on having been privileged to listen to so witty and lucid a paper, which pointed the way to a freer conception of a chapter of Latin teaching which had often been a burden. The question somewhat resembled the issue raised on the previous afternoon, between Professor Mackail and Professor Murray. Professor Mackail had pleaded for a single Homer, and Professor Sonnenschein now pleaded for a single Subjunctive. In both cases history rejected the plea, by evidence that the Homeric poems and the Latin Subjunctive had been made up from a number of different sources. But, on the other hand, popular instinct might be said in both cases to have related to one another, and so to create a new theoretical unity or unities. But these meanings were in reality related to one another prior to any grammatical theory about them; nor indeed would grammatical theory have been able to unite them under a common name had they not been in *themselves* related.

[I have avoided speaking of "original" meanings of the subjunctive and optative inflexions, because I do not know whether *originally* (in the strict sense of the term) they had any meaning at all. Their meaning or meanings may have been *acquired* by a process of adaptation. For a recent statement of this point of view see an able paper by Oertel and Morris, in *Harvard Studies*, vol. xvi. ("On the Origin of Indo-European Inflection"), reviewed in *The Year's Work* for 1908.]

gone some distance in creating unity over again, though in neither case had it gone quite all the way. That is to say, just as in Homer the artistic grouping and shaping of a later bard or bards did not completely conceal the separate Lays out of which the poem was compounded, so in Latin the grouping of different uses together into a correlated system or "Mood" had never been, in his opinion, so close as to enable us to say that at any one time in Latin the Mood had one definite central meaning.

Professor Hale last year had very brilliantly criticised the metaphysical tendencies of his predecessors, and he had hunted rather far in order to find examples; but in truth he need not have gone beyond the covers of his own Latin Grammar, where many of the categories, as Professor Sonnenschein pointed out, were thoroughly metaphysical. Professor Sonnenschein in his turn had criticised very justly the seven categories which Professor Hale had set up. The distressing thing was that destructive criticism of grammatical theory was nearly always convincing and nearly always right. He (the speaker) would very much like to accept Professor Sonnenschein's own attractive picture of a single subjunctive, especially as the phenomena of sequence showed that by the time of Cicero, for a particular set of uses, the Romans had a definite conception of the mood as a unit. But he did not think it would ever be desirable to class such different meanings as "I command that it shall be," and "I only wish it might be," under a single rubric. What seemed to him the only safe method was to explore as far as we could the earliest meanings and uses of the different forms, such as (1) *erimus*; (2) *simus*, *ausim*, and *rexerimus*; (3) *amemus* and *regemus*; (4) *regamus*; (5) *regeremus*, and (6) *rexissemus*; and then in the second place to study how far these different uses had so influenced one another in the popular mind as to establish definite relations between them for particular categories of meaning.

He concluded by respectfully congratulating Professor Sonnenschein on the stimulating and suggestive way in which he had opened the discussion of what was a very intricate, but also a very practical and important question.

Professor J. S. REID.—"I have listened with great interest to Professor Sonnenschein's paper, but it seems to me that to deal with it adequately would require careful consideration. There

are, however, one or two points which I think very important, but which Professor Sonnenschein has not mentioned. He has not disproved, in fact he seems to admit, that the subjunctive has many components derived from different sources. But he does not lay enough stress on the fact that languages are learnt by habit and not by conscious thought. Their use by those who speak them is a matter of tradition and not a matter of reflection. While a great mood like the subjunctive is made to express many varieties of thought, yet users of it are not conscious of these distinctions. But if cross-examined, they would be bound to admit that the distinctions existed. I think the fact that the ordinary user was not conscious of all that the subjunctive implied is not of the importance which Professor Sonnenschein attributes to it. Another point I would like to put before this assembly is that, just as the phonetics of language indicate gradual disintegration, the causes of which are inscrutable to us, so the syntax of language indicates a gradual disintegration by habit and fashion; and one generation gradually changes the syntax and hands on the change to another generation, and the process is very like the processes of phonetic change—that is to say, its causes can often not be discerned. A great many of the phenomena of the Latin subjunctive are due, I think, to that gradual process of change. Another matter which I think of some importance is this—that many kinds of feeling can be run into one another—command, wish, desire, supposition, credulity,—and very often the expression chosen is deliberately not the right one. When a person has a right to command he sometimes of set purpose puts it as a supposition that the person should do something. He often uses deliberately the wrong form because he does not choose to use the stronger form. You may have come into your room a beggar who annoys you very much. You may say “Go out!”, but instead you say, “Suppose you go out,” for you do not want to commit yourself to the brusque form. And that kind of feeling, if you look at the history of Latin syntax, spreads itself all over the field. Again, a wish is very often equivalent to a command. The fact that it is so is indicated by the relation of the speaker to the person addressed. Syntax has to be regarded very often from the point of view of the relation between two persons. But I must not continue on this theme. Professor Sonnenschein’s

paper is an important one, and I shall be glad to see any simplification of the teaching in regard to the subjunctive. But I am afraid I am in this frame of mind on the application of the word *shall*: it seems artificial, and I should like to consider it further. Still I have to thank Professor Sonnenschein very much for what I have learnt from his interesting paper."

Mr. R. S. FORRESTER.—"Listening to this paper made me curious to know how Professor Sonnenschein would deal with the secondary tenses of the subjunctive. I think the examples he gave us were all primary tenses only. I suppose that was due to the fact that his paper was a summary. However, I should be glad if he would give us some indication of how he would deal with the secondary tenses."

The CHAIRMAN said that he believed in a unifying instinct at work in the popular mind which determined the uses of a mood. When they found a mood like the subjunctive, used indeed with an immense variety of shades of meaning, yet also with a regularity so remarkable that in classical Latin they were seldom, if ever, in real doubt whether the subjunctive or indicative ought to be employed, they might fairly infer that there was some underlying idea of unity, conscious or sub-conscious. He was much struck by the success of Professor Sonnenschein's attempt to discover such a unity in the Latin subjunctive. His examples went far towards establishing the probability that it was properly a "shall" mood. The Homeric uses of the subjunctive might perhaps be taken as a corroboration of this view. In any case they opened up interesting analogies. But for Homer we never should have imagined that the Greek subjunctive was at one stage of its development a strong future which may be denoted by "shall." From those "shalls" of Homer they were able to deduce all the Attic uses of the subjunctive; but without the clue of the Homeric syntax they could not have found any sure basis for the subjunctive as it exists in later Greek. Professor Sonnenschein did well to illustrate his paper largely from Plautus. Plautine usages threw almost as much light on the Latin subjunctive as Homeric usages did on the Greek.

A protest had been made against importing "metaphysical" ideas into grammar. He himself doubted if they could altogether banish metaphysics, any more than they could psychology, from

the use and interpretation of the moods. The Greeks were no doubt more metaphysical than the Romans ; illustrations might be drawn from the distinction between the subjunctive and optative, as those moods were already sharply distinguished in Homer. But in all syntax which attempts to render the finer expressions of thought, a kind of metaphysics entered, though it would be false to conceive of the people who so employed these modes of thought as conscious metaphysicians.

In tracing the meaning of moods or tenses little light was gained by examining the etymological meaning of the suffixes, for there, as in so many other cases, origin was one thing and usage another. They need not go further than the simple instance cited by Professor Sonnenschein, the French *j'aimerais*, to see that the philological analysis of the form did not give the key to the actual meaning of the tense. The fundamental meaning of mood or tense could only be discovered by noting the living usage of a language, written or oral. Professor Sonnenschein had approached the subject by the right road. He had brought together a number of usages of the subjunctive which at first sight seemed to stand apart, and without placing any undue strain upon the sense, had established between them a natural link of thought. They were greatly indebted to him for his paper.

Professor POSTGATE, in proposing a vote of thanks to Professor Sonnenschein, said : " There are two points I should like to refer to. I think Professor Sonnenschein in putting forward his views should have given us a date ; he should say at what time existed the unity of the subjunctive that he starts with. Then we could judge—first how his theory about that date agrees with the previous uses of the subjunctive as it can be inferred from the data of other languages, and further how the meaning of subjunctives which can be shown to be later is derived therefrom.

" The other point is this. Professor Sonnenschein, in words which have my heartiest agreement, has laid emphasis upon the importance of the *context*. He says the subjunctive is like a chameleon, which takes its colour from its environment. But there is something besides the context which comes in on each occasion : this is memory. When a person uses a grammatical form, he is not concerned only with the immediate expression of his idea. That form has its associations with uses on different

occasions and in different surroundings in the past ; and these echoes of previous usage powerfully modify his selection between possible forms of expression. This, then, is an important psychological consideration—I say psychological, not metaphysical, because I think metaphysics has no place in grammar—which should be taken into account and for which allowance should be made whenever it is reasonable so to do.”

Professor MACKAIL, in seconding the vote of thanks, said that he was glad to take the opportunity of saying in a few words how it struck the plain man after listening to the experts. He found himself in agreement both with Professor Sonnenschein's main thesis and with Professor Conway's remarks that followed. They seemed to differ, because they approached the matter from different sides. At the basis of the matter lay the question, What is the subjunctive ? Professor Sonnenschein had stopped short of asking that question. The subjunctive was not a thing ; it was a metaphysical abstraction, a formal expression of the aggregate of certain modal inflexions which had been grouped together by grammarians. The subjunctive of the grammarians included the bulk of these inflexions and grouped them under certain convenient headings, while it excluded others ; thus the so-called “ future indicative ” and “ imperative ” were not counted as parts of the subjunctive. The fact of there being a “ subjunctive ” at all showed that it must have a unity, because the invention and use of the word meant the recognition, and the naming, of such a unity. It was the empirical unity of a set of modal inflexions expressing modal relations which naturally grouped themselves together. But modal relations were infinitely vague and complex ; formal grammar only followed them roughly, and so the unity of the subjunctive was only a rough approximate unity. He did not know whether these considerations threw much light on the points that had been argued, but they seemed to him to lie at the root of the whole discussion.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

Professor SONNENSCHN, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said that it would have given him great pleasure to indicate his attitude on the various interesting points that had come up in the course of the discussion, but he felt that he had no right to do so because it was already past twelve o'clock, at which hour they

ought to be getting to the subject of Greek Pronunciation. On the whole he felt encouraged by what had been said by most of the speakers; and on the points in which they disagreed with him he believed that he had a good answer to make. He would just say, in regard to the point raised by Mr. Forrester, that the secondary tenses of the subjunctive had been omitted not because they caused any difficulty to his theory (on the contrary they strengthened the case), but simply and solely because he had had to be very brief: indeed, he had had to cut out three-fourths or more of what he had written in his longer paper. The past imperfect subjunctive corresponded in past time to the present subjunctive in present time: *e.g.* *abires*, "you should have gone away" (the past of *abeas*, "you shall go away"), *eloquerer an silerem?* "ought I to have spoken out, or to have been silent?" *imperavi ut faceres*, "that you should do it," *fieri*, "it should have been done," *videres*, "you should have seen," *si non periret immiserabilis*, "if the Trojan youth should not perish unpitied" (prospective of the past). He had got valuable hints from all the speakers; and he would make use of them in any final statement on the matter that he might publish.

Professor CONWAY presented the Report of the Committee on the Pronunciation of Greek,¹ and reminded the meeting that it had been approved already in principle, and approved unanimously, at the previous meeting of the Association, at Cambridge. He pointed out the slight changes which had since been made; partly to complete the report, and partly to meet some of the criticisms on its wording in a few details which had been offered last year. The Committee had further slightly modified its recommendations about the Greek *v*, for though it still recommended the sound of the same vowel in French for general adoption, yet in any school in which this was felt to be so difficult as seriously to hinder the teaching of Greek, the Committee now, guided by the advice of Canon Bell, recommended the adoption of the sound of *u* in Latin as being the alternative open to least objection. He directed attention also to the cautions contained in the report as to the experimental attempt to represent the Greek accents in pronunciation. The Committee did

¹ Printed on p. 100.

not wish to prevent experiments of that kind, but it did not consider that the time had come for any general recommendation, and meanwhile thought it well to offer a few observations which might serve to guard such experiments from some serious dangers.

Miss WOOD seconded the adoption of the Report. Speaking from the point of view of a practical teacher, she felt how desirable it was that the pronunciation of Greek should be assimilated as far as possible to the pronunciation of Latin. She was convinced, too, of the value of adopting in the pronunciation of Latin and Greek certain sounds in French and German, such as the *u* sound. She would like to have a clear statement about accents, if possible, because any teacher of Greek must feel the great difficulty involved in teaching the use of accents apart from pronunciation.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out what the limits of the discussion were. At the last General Meeting the following resolution was carried in regard to the original draft report on Greek pronunciation: "that the general principle embodied in the Report be approved, but that certain points be reserved for future consideration." These points had been touched upon by Professor Conway. It was open to members to discuss any other minor matters that occurred to them, but the whole question as to pronunciation, whether the modern Greek pronunciation of the vowels and diphthongs should be adopted or not, could not be reopened. Any large question of that kind was foreclosed by the previous resolution. He reminded the meeting that they were holding over the question of accents. There might be a future report on that subject.

Professor BURROWS said that he had great pleasure in supporting the changes made by the Committee since the last meeting of the Association. For some fifteen years he had pronounced Greek in approximately the way recommended by the Committee, and had found it both simple and practical. It brought with it all the advantages in connexion with the teaching of modern languages which the Committee claimed for it. The compromise which the Committee had made in regard to *ω* and *η* would be a help to many. It was a comfort to feel that those extra refinements—which would be refinements on existing Welsh or Scotch or North-country pronunciation—were not obligatory. The

Report was a thoroughly English document, breathing the very spirit of compromise. He was glad the Committee had said exactly what it had said about accents. He only hoped it would say nothing more. If Dr. Rouse would provide them with phonographs, as Professor Browne had done the day before, it might be possible even for those who were not musical to introduce the musical system of accentuation. But, as it was, it was a great help to have the remarks at the end of page 5 recommending a distinction in stress accent in certain classes of words. That was especially reasonable with such words as ἀρχῆς and ἀρχῶς, ὁμῶς and ὁμῶς, ἀλλά and ἀλλά. The distinction in accent, whatever its precise value, did undoubtedly in ancient times mean a difference of pronunciation, which was directly obvious to everybody, and could under present circumstances reasonably be represented by stress accent. Those of them who went a good deal to Greece might produce that sentence from page 5, whenever those sad arguments arose with their modern Greek friends, and point out that they were not all in the dark, but *did* make some little concession to the modern tongue.

At this point a letter was read from Mr. A. SLOMAN, who on the ground that at the *beginning* of a word the sound of German *ch* in *auch* was unknown in German itself, or indeed in any language of Western Europe with which he was acquainted, desired to move that on page 6 of the Report line 10 should read "*ch* in *chorus* nearly as in English *chorus*, but with the *h* sounded."

The Chairman pointed out that if it were impossible to give the sound of German *ch* at the beginning of a word, the natural solution would be to fall back upon the aspirated *k*.

The Rev. W. C. COMPTON said that, though he had intended only to make a few remarks by way of comment or criticism, to put himself in order, he ventured to submit an amendment. He suggested that the words "but would welcome a recommendation with regard to accentual pronunciation" should be added to the resolution. While he welcomed the Report as a whole, and was particularly glad that the letter ζ was for ever established as a double consonant, there was nothing to show them on what grounds the Committee had arrived at the conclusion that "there is no doubt whatever" that in the classical period there was no such thing as stress, whereas in the second

century A.D. stress by accent was, he supposed, practically universal. In modern Greece pronunciation by accent was absolutely universal. A few years ago he happened to be looking down upon the river Spercheios from the Pass of Thermopylae. Pointing to the bridge over the river, he said to a Greek shepherd close by him, *γεφύρα*? The shepherd instantly replied, *γεφύρα*, *γεφύρά* (with stress on the last vowel). Next he asked him whether it was *νέα* or *παλαιά*. He said, *παλαιά*, *παλαιά*. The river itself the shepherd called *Sperchyóss*. How was it that the names of those things had survived in that way in the mouth of a simple shepherd, unacquainted with the latest theories regarding Greek pronunciation? In regard to the pronunciation of accented syllables by stress the only objection which he had heard was, "How are we to get over the metrical difficulties of reading poetry?" He believed that the last word on the rhythmical reading of Greek poetry had not yet been said. In English they knew that poetry was not pronounced absolutely according to metrical rhythm. He asked that the whole thing might be reconsidered, and that they might have more light than the Committee had yet thrown on accentual pronunciation.

The CHAIRMAN.—"The motion before us is—That the Report be adopted with these words added: 'but the Meeting would welcome a recommendation on pronunciation by accent.'"

Professor MAHAFFY said that he had often attempted to get modern Greeks and modern scholars to pronounce sentences according to musical accent and not according to stress. The conclusion forced upon him was that it was all chimerical. He was told that such was the pronunciation in the fourth century B.C., in the Golden Age. He did not think they ought to attempt to speak Greek as it was spoken in the fourth century B.C., or to find out what Greek pronunciation then was. Let them be content with the third or the second century B.C., when accents first began to be written, and, so far as he knew, were commonly used in order to facilitate the pronunciation of the language by foreigners. They told him that the Greeks accented their words in order that Roman barbarians might learn to pronounce sentences with a musical tone, and that that theory was found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He did not accept the statements of Dionysius as verbally inspired. He thought that what they

should aim at, as a practical thing, was the Greek that was possible to Romans in the second and third centuries. It was not practical to give much attention to refinements in the school, which even certain people of intelligence could not grasp. After all they must learn Greek with reference to its use at the present day. He was in favour of giving up subtle theories for the practical benefit of scholars when they went to Greece, that they might talk to the people there and understand what the people said.

Professor POSTGATE said that as a member of the Committee he rose to answer the criticism of the last two speakers. To the question "What right had the Committee to say that the accent of the Greek language had changed from a pitch accent to a stress accent; and what right had they to say that there was a musical accent at all?" the answer was brief—that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who lived in the first century B.C., told them that the Greek accent was a musical accent, the total amount of difference in the musical pitch being a fifth. Dionysius' statement was confirmed by what they knew of the history of certain metrical forms. There was a metre in Greek called the scazon iambic, in which it was essential that the last foot should be a spondee. Babrius, the Greek fabulist, who might be placed in the second century A.D., observed a noticeable limitation in the construction of that metre. In his treatment of it the last foot had to have an accent, acute or circumflex, on its first syllable. That law was not found in the scazons of Herodas, who preceded him by several centuries. What did that mean? Why should Babrius have been bound by a rule which did not affect Herodas? The answer was simple, as a single word would show. ἀφνειός was a word accented on the last syllable, and would be inadmissible at the end of a scazon of Babrius, for in his time it was pronounced aphnḯós, the last syllable being lengthened and the previous one shortened by the stress. It was perfectly admissible in Herodas, since the accent, being then a musical one, did not lengthen the final or shorten the preceding syllable.

Mr. R. T. ELLIOTT agreed in the main with the report of the Committee, but he wished to offer a few suggestions. He had no doubt that the tonic accentuation was classical, and he had tried to introduce it himself, but, after experience, he agreed with

other practical teachers that for ordinary English boys and undergraduates it was absolutely impossible. It would also obscure metres for them. As to short *a*, he believed it better for practical reasons to pronounce it like English *ǣ* in *at*; the proposed pronunciation like the first *a* of *aha* did not make enough practical distinction for English learners from the long *a* of *father*. As to *αι*, he preferred the pronunciation as *ey* in *grey* to the proposed pronunciation as *ī* in *ice*, which was much further from the classical pronunciation, and would also involve an undesirable confusion with the pronunciation of *αι*. As to the aspirated consonants, he thought their pronunciation as *t + h*, *p + h*, etc., was too difficult for ordinary English learners, for whom, from the practical point of view, the pronunciation of *θ* as English *th*, and *φ* as *f* was best, and, for the sake of distinction, that of *χ* as German *ch*, when not found too difficult. In regard to *ζ* he thought it by no means certain that its proposed pronunciation as *dz* was that generally prevailing in classical Greek; there was strong evidence pointing otherwise that must be first accounted for. Classical *ζ* arose from (1) *zd* (*ὀζος*, cf. Goth. *ast-s*); (2) *d̥i* (*Ζεύς*, cf. *Δίος*); (3) *gi* (*μείζων*, cf. *μέγας*); (4) *ji* (*ζυγόν*, perhaps from sandhi, **τὸδ ζυγόν*). He believed that in early Greek the pronunciation of *ζ* still varied according to its origin, and to some extent according to dialect. He considered recent attempts to deny that *ζ* ever arose from *zd* were unsuccessful; **Ἀθήναζε* = **Ἀθήνα(ν)ς + δε*; in inscriptions *Διόδοτος* was found as well as *Διόδωτος*; *Ashdod* was represented as **Ἀζωρος* in Herodotus, etc., and *Auramazda* as **Ἀπομάζης* in Plato. These and other reasons were in favour of the view that *ζ* in these and other cases represented a pronunciation more akin to *zd* than to *dz*.

Dr. J. S. DAWES thought that what the Committee was doing was a retrograde, not a forward movement. The discussion as to the pronunciation of Greek had been going on for more than three hundred years. He supposed it began when Erasmus, in a satirical dialogue between a Lion and a Bear, described how Greek should be pronounced. Erasmus meant it as a play upon the wrong way in which people were speaking Greek. He wanted to say a word in regard to accentuation. Accentuation was the soul of a language. Whatever the language might be, French, English, German or any other, once the accent was taken away,

the language was ruined. In England they had the fight in regard to Greek accent long ago. In the middle of the eighteenth century some books were published in Oxford without accents, the idea being that they could do away with accents. They could not do away with accents. They might in printing, but not otherwise. The more one understood the tone (*τόνος*) of a language, the easier it was to teach it. He had himself found no difficulty in teaching Greek pronunciation according to accent. He agreed with Professor Ross, one of the earliest Professors in the University of Athens, who once said to him, "It is a pity that the term 'Neugriechisch' (modern Greek) was ever invented."

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that it would not be in order to discuss the general question of ancient and modern pronunciation as regards accents. The particular amendment before them, however, was quite in order, for while accepting the Report as a whole, it expressed a desire for a recommendation by the Committee on pronunciation by accent. He went on to remind the Meeting that they were engaged in an eminently practical attempt at reform. Greek was in a perilous position, so they had attempted in the Report to limit themselves to recommendations which they believed could be carried out and which would not impose such burdens upon pupils as to endanger the future of Greek study. Taking that ground, then, they had rejected a good many things which on strictly scientific grounds they might have recommended. The general principle on which the Report was based was, putting the question of accents aside, to bring the scheme of pronunciation into as near accord with the scheme of Latin pronunciation as could be reasonably done. If the Report were accepted as it stood, the natural result would be that the pronunciation of the Greek vowels and diphthongs would follow very nearly the pronunciation of the corresponding vowels and diphthongs in Latin, with which the pupils were already familiar. As to further counsels of perfection he would remind them of what Blass says: "I am perfectly convinced that if an ancient Athenian were to rise from his grave and hear one of us speak Greek on the basis of the most scientific inquiry and with the most delicate and practised organs, he would think our pronunciation horribly barbarous. But if he heard a modern Greek

he would not indeed be so loud in his censure simply because he failed to observe that this is supposed to be his own language." He did not think the Committee would object, if it were so desired, to report on the question of accent.

Professor CONWAY pointed out that the Committee had already had heavy work, and the request put forward in the amendment would really involve the writing of a considerable book on technical and difficult subjects, for which he ventured to doubt whether a Committee was the best kind of author.

After further discussion the Rev. W. C. COMPTON agreed to withdraw his amendment. He reminded the meeting that the amendment enforced nothing upon the Committee; it was simply the expression of a pious opinion.

The amendment having been withdrawn, the original resolution was carried with three dissentients.

At 2.30 p.m. a highly successful performance of the *Hippolytus* of Euripides in Dr. Gilbert Murray's English translation was given by Miss Horniman's Company in the large lecture theatre of the Midland Institute before an audience which numbered about eight hundred and fifty. A copy of the programme is printed on the following page.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION.

GENERAL MEETING IN BIRMINGHAM,

OCTOBER 9TH, 1908.

PERFORMANCE OF THE
HIPPOLYTUS OF EURIPIDES

IN GILBERT MURRAY'S English translation

by MISS HORNIMAN'S Company, under the direction of B. IDEN PAYNE,
in the large lecture theatre of the Midland Institute.

The scene designed and the play produced by LEWIS CASSON.

The costumes designed by PENELOPE WHEELER, and executed by ADA M. OWEN.

The incidental music by GRANVILLE BANTOCK.

The stage fittings and limelight effects by GEORGE W. LEOG.

Dramatis Personae :

The Goddess Aphrodite . . .	ERNITA LASCELLES
The Goddess Artemis . . .	SYBIL THORNDIKE
Theseus, <i>king of Athens and Trozen</i> .	JULES SHAW
Phaedra, <i>daughter of Minos, king of Crete; wife of Theseus</i> . .	PENELOPE WHEELER
Hippolytus, <i>bastard son of Theseus and the Amazon Hippolyte</i> .	LEONARD MUDIE
The Nurse of Phaedra . . .	DOROTHEA SPINNEY
An old Huntsman . . .	EDWARD LANDOR
A Henchman of Hippolytus . .	LEWIS CASSON
Chorus Leader . . .	EVELYN HALL
Chorus of Trozenian women .	HILDA BRUCE POTTER
	DORIS HORROCKS
	VIOLET CRITCHLEY
	LILIAN CHRISTINE HILDA
	DAVIES
	ENID MEEK

Huntsmen, Attendants, etc.

The scene is laid in Trozen. The play was first acted when Epameinon was Archon, Olympiad 87, year 4 (B.C. 429). Euripides was first, Iophon second, Ion third.

MEETING IN THE TOWN HALL

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9TH

THE PRESIDENT (The Right Hon. H. H. ASQUITH) took the chair at 8.15 p.m. The audience numbered about two thousand.

Professor SONNENSCHIEIN (Hon. Sec.) read letters of apology for absence, as follows :

From Dr. T. H. WARREN, President of Magdalen College, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford :

"Will you express to the Classical Association and to my friends in Birmingham my very genuine and keen regret that it is not possible for me to be present at the meeting of the Association which is to be held in Birmingham to-morrow? I regret it for many reasons. I regret to miss the meeting in Birmingham, which I always regard as a neighbour University, and with the Classical work of which I have some personal acquaintance; and I regret to miss the memorable occasion and opportunity of hearing the Prime Minister (a Scholar of Balliol of my own time and one of the very foremost Classical Scholars in the Oxford of my undergraduate days) as President of the Association deliver what is certain to be a most interesting address. But a Vice-Chancellor is always much tied. To-morrow the autumn term begins here, and I cannot in duty be away. I can only send you, if you will allow me, this greeting.

"One thing more I should like to say. I should like to pay the tribute of warm and lifelong friendship and to express my deep regret and condolence with you all in the sad loss you have sustained by the death of my old friend Professor Churton Collins. I always considered that Birmingham did a national service by recognising officially the merit of that great teacher, that unselfish and enthusiastic lover of good literature whether found in the ancient or the modern Classics."

From the Rev. E. S. ROBERTS, Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge :

"It is with much regret that I find myself unable, in consequence of official engagements, to attend the meeting of the Classical Association.

"Having had the honour last year of offering a hearty welcome to the Association at Cambridge, I now desire through you to convey to those present at Birmingham this expression of good wishes for the success of the meeting and the furtherance of its aims. These wishes, I doubt not, are shared by all who have at heart the reform of Classical teaching.

"Dissociated as I have been perforce during the last two years from Classical Studies by the absorbing cares of office, I value highly the great usefulness of *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, and I think that it would be a *serious* misfortune if the publication of it during the coming years should in any way lack encouragement.

"It is of happy omen that the Association this year has the countenance and support of His Majesty's first Minister of State."

From L. C. MIALL, Professor of Biology in Leeds and Chairman of the Education Section of the British Association :

"Every friend of learning rejoices to see what you are doing to vivify studies which not many years ago seemed to be losing their hold on the attention of the English people. I entertain a confident hope that you will succeed."

Letters of apology for absence were also received from the Hon. Sir Walter Phillimore, Professor Henry Jackson, Professor Ridgeway, Professor Myres, Professor Exon, Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, and others.

The Right Hon. H. H. ASQUITH then delivered his Presidential Address :

"That it is my privilege as President for the year of the Classical Association to deliver my address to its members assembled in the Town Hall of Birmingham may be regarded, I think, as a striking illustration of the interdependence in this country of culture and practice.

"Birmingham, among all English towns, is perhaps the

one most associated in popular thought and speech with the strenuous interests of business and politics. I myself, for a long time past, have been compelled to spend my waking hours—if I may use an ancient phrase without offence—*non in Platonis republica sed in Romuli fœce*. But Birmingham has set up a University—which of us does not feel to-night the gap on our platform due to the much regretted absence of its illustrious Chancellor?—a University with a Faculty of Arts, and a Professor of Greek and Latin in the person of Dr. Sonnenschein, who has been a pioneer of useful experiments in the art of teaching the ancient languages, and has done as much as any one to organise and develop the work of the Classical Association. And although, when I remember that I am in the chair which was occupied by Dr. Butcher, I am painfully sensible that one who is not even worthy to be called a scribe has stolen into Moses' seat, yet I can honestly say that I have never wavered in my allegiance to the great writers of antiquity, or ceased to take a lively interest in the progress of criticism and discovery which is every year throwing new light on their meaning, and laying deeper and broader the foundations of their imperishable fame.

“The Classical Association has a double side to its activities. It seeks to examine and improve our English methods of studying and teaching the Classics. It seeks also to co-ordinate and bring together the ever-accumulating results of the labours of British and Foreign scholars. Under the first head it has already, in the course of two years, brought about a radical change, which, both in the magnitude of its scale and the rapidity of its execution, may well excite the envious admiration of iconoclasts and revolutionaries in other walks of life. The reformed scheme of Latin pronunciation has been adopted, and is in practical use in our Universities and in most, if not in all, of our public schools. It was recommended for use in secondary schools by the Board of Education in a circular issued in February 1907, which, however, left it open to the schools to retain

if they pleased the traditional English pronunciation. It will be interesting to you to know the results, the details of which will be set out in the forthcoming Report of the Board. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the use of the reformed pronunciation has become normal in grant-earning schools. Returns have been received from 577 schools in which Latin is taught. Of these, no less than 550 use the reformed pronunciation. In 24 out of the 550 the scheme of the Association has been adopted with modifications of one kind or another, those most commonly made being (1) the distinction between *u* the vowel and *v* the consonant, and (2) the retention of the traditional English consonantal sounds—as, for instance, the soft *c* and *g* before the vowels *e* and *i*. You have thus, in effect, in the course of two years made a clean sweep of a system of mispronunciation which has prevailed in this country for more than three centuries, and which has done not a little to isolate English scholarship. Encouraged by this success, the Association is now attacking the problem of the pronunciation of Greek. It will be interesting to see whether, in this more broken and difficult ground, it will be found equally easy to rout the forces of Conservatism.

“Side by side with these large reforms, the Association is prosecuting a less ambitious but equally useful task in seeking to secure that the highest educational value shall be got out of the time which is given in most English schools to the teaching of Latin. It is satisfactory to observe that the best authorities, even those who speak in the name of natural science, are practically unanimous as to the necessity of retaining the study of Latin. When one remembers how few of those who at present are learning Latin in school can by any possibility develop into scholars in any real sense of the term, it is obviously of the first importance that Latin should be taught in such a way as to be a propaedeutic, and a real intellectual discipline. Too often in the past the only permanent mental gain from the hours devoted during many years to the learning of Latin

has been one of at least dubious value—a good memory for what is trivial and just as well forgotten.

“But, as I said just now, the Association has charged itself with another function—that of bringing together in a coherent and connected form, from time to time, the results of the researches and discoveries of those who are engaged in the different fields of scholarship. How many those fields are, how indefinitely varied is their yield, and yet how important it is that the work done in each should be brought into reciprocal relation with the work done in all the rest, will become at once apparent to any one who looks at the admirable annual compendium which is edited for the Council by Dr. Rouse. The subjects treated are indeed almost bewildering in their number and diversity. Archaeology in all its ramifications, Sculpture, Numismatics, Mythology, Epigraphy, History, Grammar, Textual Criticism—even this comprehensive catalogue by no means exhausts the various forms of activity which the learned of all countries are devoting every year to a better and closer knowledge of the ancient world. It is a perusal of this volume which has suggested to me one or two reflections on the changes which within my own memory, and that of many here present, have been brought about in this country both in the conception and the practice of classical study.

“Let me make my meaning clear by an illustration. I was reading the other day a discourse delivered to the Classical Association of Scotland by Professor Ridgeway, whose *Early Age of Greece* has laid me, among many others, under a deep debt of obligation. Its subject is the relation of archaeology to classical studies. His main thesis appears to be that, after the death of Porson, English scholarship rapidly degenerated into pedantry and verbalism, of which the highest achievements were a happy guess at a new reading in a corrupt passage, or some *tour de force* in the elegant and futile trivialities of Greek and Latin versification.

“If, as he appears to hold, the field has now been

broadened, and English scholarship has recovered, or is recovering, its sense of proportion, the result is in his opinion largely to be attributed to the introduction and acknowledgment of archaeology as a necessary part of the scholar's equipment. I think that Professor Ridgeway is a little disposed to underestimate both the range and the productiveness of classical scholarship in this country, in what I may call the pre-Schliemann era, when practically all that we knew of the early history of Mycenae and Crete was to be found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Yet these were the days in which, to mention only a few out of many possible examples, such books as Munro's *Lucretius*, Conington's *Virgil*, Jowett and Thompson's editions and translations of *Plato*, and the earlier part, at any rate, of *Jebb's Sophocles*, saw the light. But there can be no doubt that Schliemann and his successors have had what can only be described as a revolutionary influence, and have to some extent altered the bearings of English and indeed of universal scholarship. During the last twenty years it is hardly an exaggeration to say that in this domain the pen has become the servant of the spade. We now know that the pre-Homeric civilisation, of which nearly the first traces were unearthed at Mycenae and Tiryns and Hissarlik, stretches back into an almost immeasurable past. It may be, and probably is, the case that it went through stages of development and decadence in the Cyclades and Crete before it crossed to the Argolid. Mr. Evans and his school believe that they can trace no less than eight so-called Minoan epochs, each with a characteristic art of its own, before they reach the era called Late Minoan III., which begins with the sack of the later Palace at Knossos about 1400 B.C., and which, corresponding roughly with the so-called Mycenaean of the mainland, perhaps lasts to 1000 B.C. The revelation of the existence during centuries, possibly during thousands of years, of this almost unsuspected Aegean world, has, of course, compelled a revision of the traditional notion, in which most of us were brought

up, that we have in the Homeric poems the first records of historic Greece. There is, no doubt, much that is still obscure, and, if I may venture to say so, still more that is highly conjectural, in the picture which Archaeology has constructed of what may be called, without prejudice, the pre-Achaean ages. The great Palace at Knossos, in its wall decorations and in its sanitary and hydraulic arrangements, was rarely, if ever, surpassed in the later days of Greek art. We gather from that which remains of their art that the men who erected and lived in and about this wonderful building were a dark-skinned and long-headed race, with shaven faces, short in stature and narrow in waist, who were still in the bronze age, and who buried and did not burn their dead. Their language does not help us, for, as I understand, none of the Cretan scripts, whether pictographic or linear, have as yet been satisfactorily deciphered. Can they be properly described as a Greek race? Is their art to be called Greek Art? In the successive waves of migration, of which the origin, the succession, and the effect seem to become more rather than less disputable with the progress of research, were they swept out of existence or absorbed either as a dominant or a contributory factor in the historic Hellenic race? To these questions Professor Burrows, who has collected in his excellent book¹ everything that is relevant to the subject, admits that at present no definite answer can be given.

“ Prehistoric archaeology in the region of the Aegean has indeed raised more questions than it has solved. To say this is not to disparage or undervalue the service which it has rendered, particularly to Homeric scholarship—in correcting crude theories, in setting aside false interpretations, in giving historic actuality to what used to be regarded as manifestly legendary or fictitious, and generally in recasting the perspective to the Poems. But to the

¹ *The Discoveries in Crete*, by R. M. Burrows London: John Murray, 1908.

student of ancient literature, archaeology (as Professor Ridgeway rightly says) must be kept in an ancillary position. It must not occupy the foreground and dominate the scene. There may be as much pedantry and waste of time in wrangling over the question to which of our nine hypothetical Minoan epochs a particular potsherd belongs, as in elaborating theories about the different usages of *ἀν* and *ὀν*. The shadow of the commentator, whatever may be his particular calling—textual criticism, grammar, excavation—should never be allowed (as it so often has been) to obscure and almost to obliterate the writing of genius. The true scholar values and uses all these aids and lights, each in its due proportion; but the true scholar is rare.

“Amidst all the digging and scratching and scraping that have been going on during the last twenty years on all sides of the Mediterranean, it is disappointing, though perhaps it ought not to be surprising, that so few of the lost literary treasures of the ancient world have been recovered. The caprice of chance, which has preserved so much, and left so much apparently to perish, still seems to mock our hopes. It is tempting to speculate which of the works that we know to have existed would, if rediscovered, be most warmly welcomed by the educated world. The lost Attic tragedies? or the comedies of Menander? or those discourses and dialogues of Aristotle, which, if ancient tradition is credible, reveal him as the master of a readable and even an attractive style? or the *Philippica* of Theopompus, which, according to Wilamowitz von Moellendorff's¹ recent Oxford lecture, contained more than the special merits of Herodotus and Thucydides, and his equally remarkable *Meropis*, which was actually in existence in the ninth century. We would gladly exchange a little early Minoan pottery for some of these masterpieces—or indeed for some genuine product of the chisel of Phidias

¹ *Greek Historical Writings, etc.*, translated by Gilbert Murray. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.

or Polyclitus. But it may be that these things are still only in hiding, to reward the patience or the good luck of some fortunate member of the indefatigable and undefeated fraternity of the spade.

“In truth the great writers of antiquity remain, as they have been and always will be, their own best interpreters. Archaeology has thrown, as it were from outside, new lights upon their environment, which have in not a few instances made real what seemed to be fantastic, and intelligible what was all but meaningless. But perhaps a still greater service has been rendered in our time to English scholarship by the wider knowledge and more comprehensive survey of ancient literature itself which is now required of any one who aspires to be a scholar. Thirty or forty years ago, at both Oxford and Cambridge, the so-called Classical authors were a select, almost an aristocratic body. They were studied with a minute and even meticulous care. I suppose there was not a sentence or even a line in the *Ethics* or the *Republic*, every possible interpretation of which was not as familiar to the great Oxford coaches as are the traditional openings in chess to a Lasker or a Tarrasch. The well-regulated student was kept somewhat rigorously within this carefully fenced domain. If he showed vagrant, migratory tastes, which tempted him to roam afield, he was warned against the double danger of a too superficial knowledge of his authors and a vitiated style. Intensive cultivation of the writers of the Golden Age was the rule of life. *Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna*, was its motto. It is probable that very few of us who were immersed in the great Augustans ever read a line of Strabo, or of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, or of the anonymous author of the treatise on the ‘Sublime’—though two of them were certainly, and the third may possibly have been, contemporary with Virgil and Horace. There is, I am glad to say, a growing tendency to extend the range of classical reading. There is no fear of the great masters of style and literary charm being dethroned from their seats of power. Homer, the Attic dramatists, Herodotus, Thu-

cydides, and Plato, and, at Rome, Lucretius and Catullus, the Augustan poets, Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus, will always maintain an undisputed ascendancy. But, even though a man should put in peril the purity of his elegiacs and iambics, or of his Greek and Latin prose, his scholarship is one-sided and incomplete unless he makes himself at home in less familiar epochs and in fields that have been less assiduously tilled. The two fascinating books of Professor Dill show what a mine of interest, literary as well as historical, lies open for exploration in the later centuries of the Western Empire. And the *History of Classical Scholarship* by Dr. Sandys, the accomplished Public Orator of Cambridge, supplies a need from which we have all suffered, and for the first time supplies English readers with a luminous and connected narrative, to use his own words, of 'the accurate study of the language, literature and art of Greece and Rome, and of all they had to teach us as to the nature and history of men.' Dr. Sandys reminds us of what, possibly, even some members of the Association may have forgotten—the true origin of the term 'Classical' which forms part of our title and which has given its name to a whole field of learning and research. In the *Noctes Atticae* (XIX. 8. 15) Aulus Gellius describes a certain author as *classicus scriptor*, *non proletarius*, a metaphor which apparently goes back as far as the division of the Roman people into classes by Servius Tullius. A citizen in the first class was called *classicus*; those who made up the last and the lowest were *proletarii*. There are many authors, ancient as well as modern, who are more read than they deserve to be; for they belong irretrievably to the proletariat of literature. But I venture to think that in days gone by we have been a little too subservient to tradition and convention in refusing to admit the title of original and interesting writers to be ranked with the Classics.

"Lastly, may I not say, without any disparagement of the great scholars of our youth, that what we call the Classics—whether as instrument of education or as field for research—have come to be treated with a larger outlook, in a more

scientific spirit, with a quickened consciousness of their relations to other forms of knowledge and other departments of investigation. This is indeed a characteristic of the general intellectual movement of our time. It is more and more recognised that the many mansions which go to form the Palace of Knowledge and Truth open out into each other. There is no longer any question of mutual exclusion, still less of absorption or supersession. I was much struck with this in reading the brilliant address delivered this autumn to the assembled votaries of Natural Science by the President of the British Association. Mechanical theories and explanations no longer satisfy the well-equipped biologist and botanist who has to deal with the problem of living matter even in its most rudimentary forms. In like manner the facile and attractive simplicity of many of the theories which had crystallised almost into dogmas as to Greek origins, Greek religion, the order and development of Greek poetry, and as to a hundred other points, has had to yield to the sapping operations of the comparative method, and is found in the new setting of a larger scheme of knowledge to be hopelessly out of perspective. There is nothing more irksome to the natural man than to have the pre-suppositions on which he has lived rooted up and cast upon the rubbish heap. But this is the often unwelcome service which Science is always rendering to the world. Aristotle said long ago that the being that could live in isolation was either below or above humanity. There is no form of study—least of all the study of language and literature, which are the vesture of men's thoughts and emotions—that can afford to isolate itself without incurring the risks of pedantry and sterility.

“Here is a work which is worthy of the co-operative efforts of this association of scholars. For the literature of the two great European races of the ancient world can never lose its supreme attraction, its incommunicable splendour; and of them it is true, in the famous words of Roger Bacon, *notitia linguarum est prima porta sapientiae*.”

The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM.—“I have been desired, without asking leave of the President, to rise and propose a resolution which I have no doubt you will all anticipate and in which you will heartily join,—‘That the best thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Asquith for his interesting address.’

“I suppose that our brain positively reels, if we attempt to conceive what must be the anxieties and responsibilities of the Prime Minister; and therefore it must be with the most infinite gratitude that we accept the kindness which Mr. Asquith has done us in giving us so much of his valuable time at a moment like this, when he must have so much upon his mind. It is, of course, to me a special pleasure to be allowed to propose this vote of thanks because, if we were not boys together, we were together under conditions which involved at least as much intimate fellowship. We were undergraduates together at Oxford; and I look upon Mr. Asquith as one of the very rare examples of fulfilled prophecy. I have a most distinct recollection of a group of undergraduates on a certain occasion discussing their contemporaries, and we all said, Whether we succeed or fail we feel quite sure that Asquith will succeed. And now that he has succeeded we are heartily glad that he is prepared from his elevation to give a helping hand to a cause which, in spite of this brilliant assemblage to-night, I am sure we must confess is at the present moment not the cause of the top dog—I mean the cause of Classical Education. I am also very glad to be able to propose this resolution in Birmingham, because the Classical Association has special connexions with Birmingham: I believe that the Association emanated specially from the brains of Professor Postgate and Professor Sonnenschein, the one a Birmingham man by origin and the other a Birmingham man by occupation. So that we have a special reason to be proud of the Classical Association. And once again, we have in Birmingham, and I hope we shall never forget it, a great classical tradition. Whatever has to be said about the classical training of the past, at any rate our record of the great scholars who were made under Prince Lee’s teaching at King Edward’s School assures us that the classics were not taught in a mechanical or narrow spirit by him, although I suppose he was a scholar of the old school. But I am quite sure that it needs all our

energies if we are to maintain classical studies in the place which they held in Birmingham at the time which just preceded its brightest distinction. If we are to maintain classical studies in anything like the position which they once held, we must set vigorously about the task of making men understand what is their real value.

“Ladies and gentlemen, I gather that in this Association it is at least not uncustomary to use the opportunity of a vote of thanks for a violent attack upon the person to whom you are proposing the vote of thanks. So far from doing that, I am prepared to give my humble assent to all that was said by the Prime Minister in his very interesting address. I am quite sure that it would be a great mistake if we allowed the classical cause to be identified with the cause of archaeology or of digging, valuable as archaeology and digging are. I am quite sure, if we are really to maintain the worth of classical study, it must be because it deserves its old name of the Humanities ; and we want as far as possible to make such reforms in our manner of teaching the classics that their real human value and meaning and permanent human worth may be made manifest. As we were listening this afternoon in the Midland Institute to the performance of the *Hippolytus*, for which we owe such grateful thanks to Dr. Gilbert Murray, I was thinking of the Association which is going to hold its meeting in Birmingham next week—the Workers’ Educational Association, the Association which is trying to bring our Universities into closer connexion with the aspirations after knowledge of the workers. It is a very interesting Association ; and what I was thinking this afternoon was this,—Suppose you had brought any of those working men athirst for knowledge into the theatre this afternoon, supposing they had listened to this *Hippolytus*, is there any one of them who could have failed to feel that this drama was in the profoundest sense human, that it touched the deepest human chords, that it responded to the deepest human feeling, that it probed questions that are at the very foundations of human progress—those great questions of the invisible world ? Was it not a profoundly modern drama—was it, that is to say, not profoundly and deeply human ? I am quite sure that, if classical study is to be understood, if the mass of men who want to be educated

are to be united in real appreciation of the value of classical study, that will only come about because those who are responsible for its teaching make men feel that in a great and deep sense, classical studies are the Humanities, that there are to be found the thoughts of the men who stirred the depths of human feeling, and who asked the great questions which we shall for ever be occupied in endeavouring to solve. I do not know whether others were struck by it, but certainly when I was reading the fragments of Lord Acton's great work, the *History of Liberty*, in that volume of broken essays which is all we have got of that great book which will never be, I could not help feeling how impossible it is to understand the deepest and most modern wants of men without the mind continually going back to those Greeks who asked the questions which it is for all ages of humanity to seek to solve.

"And once again I say we are heartily grateful to the Prime Minister for having said what he has about the width of range in the study of classical authors. If I may make a confession, I do not think I ever got really enthusiastic about Latin till I began to read Tertullian; I still venture to think that hardly any writer of Latin is more interesting than Tertullian, and I am sure that we make a great mistake if we do not remember that the classical languages, at any rate the Latin, went down to a very late date getting continually new leases of life.

"What we want classical education to do is surely to give our educated men the power of reading classical languages freely, for it is only if we get free power to read a language that we can really use it: and then we can grow in discernment of its meaning according to the measure of our special aptitude for niceties of appreciation. But the first thing is to read the languages; and I do for various reasons desire warmly to propose this vote of thanks to the Prime Minister for his valuable and interesting address."

Mr. S. H. BUTCHER, in seconding the vote of thanks, said: "I should like in one word, first of all, to repeat what the Bishop said, and to assure Mr. Asquith that the Classical Association does appreciate very deeply the courtesy and kindness which have induced him to keep an engagement which he made a year ago. At that time, I imagine, he did not foresee that he would

now be Prime Minister of this country, nor could he have foreseen that this would be a very critical and anxious moment in politics: and yet neither business nor anxiety has prevented him from coming here, to our delight, this evening.

"In his interesting and luminous address three or four points which he emphasized come home to us all as useful reminders. First, that we now begin to see in its true historical perspective the place of Greek civilisation, thanks especially to archaeological research. Next, that the study of literature must always be supreme over archaeology and the allied studies. Thirdly, that we should encourage through this Association an extended, a more human range of reading than has hitherto been the tradition of classical schools. Also I think he suggested the idea, which I believe to be profoundly true, that these ancient languages and literatures are living organisms which are in close and vital relation with every other branch of human study and human activity.

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, those who are interested in the classics must feel a natural glow of pleasure, when we get among us, as we have this evening, a classical student who has risen to the foremost place in the public life of his country. Some of us would like to believe that he is what he is, partly and largely, because he has had a classical education. Others, I imagine, would say that he is what he is in spite of having undergone that antiquated training. Anyhow, whichever of those two things is true, it is certain that his tribute to the classics this evening has a value derived not only from what he has said, but from what he himself is. There are some people who think that any man who has been trained in the classics is sure to become a dreamer, a mere dreamer or scholastic idler. That, I am convinced, is not true. Nor is it true, what others believe, that the study of the classics fosters a temper of mind that is narrow and of limited sympathies, and even reactionary, especially in politics. I heard some little time ago of two classical men who were crossing the Atlantic; they were talking about Homer and of the extraordinary interest that still gathers round him. An American listening to the conversation observed, 'I don't know who your Homer was, but anyhow he seems to have been a go-ahead kind of party.' Now I would not like to apply to

such an august personage as the Prime Minister this particular form of expression ; but this we may safely say, that Mr. Asquith is not only a man of letters, but a man of action and a man of ideas, and of ideas that are quite as advanced as some of us desire. I beg to second the resolution.

“In the name of the Classical Association, and I am sure I may add in the name of this great audience present, I would ask Mr. Asquith to accept our warm thanks for his lecture this evening.”

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Mr. ASQUITH.—“Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you most heartily—first and foremost for the patient and indulgent consideration with which you have listened to what I am afraid was a somewhat amateur discourse ; and next for the vote of thanks, the value of which, if I may say so, has been enhanced to me by the fact that it was proposed by my old friend and fellow-student, your Bishop, and seconded by so distinguished and illustrious a scholar as my friend Dr. Butcher. It is quite true that when I undertook to perform this duty I could not anticipate either that I should at this time be the occupant of the post which I have the honour to hold, or that the date for the fulfilment of my engagement would take place at a time of considerable international anxiety and difficulty. But none the less I can assure you it has been a very great pleasure to me to divest myself for an hour of all those cares and preoccupations, and to find myself once more in that old companionship, the charm of which never fails, the companionship which unites together those who have once imbibed the taste for the literature and the language of the ancient world.”

At 9.45 p.m. Professor WALDSTEIN delivered an address on “Herculaneum,” illustrated by lantern slides. In referring to Mr. Asquith’s address, the lecturer remarked on the striking agreement of their views on classical studies. The only point on which he ventured to differ from the Prime Minister was in his conception of the true province of archaeology. Classical archaeology was not only or chiefly concerned with fragments of vases. Though in its ethnological aspect a vase-fragment might be as important as a statue by Phidias, classical archaeo-

logy was mainly concerned with the manifestations of the classic mind in the domain of art. The study of these monuments , the artistic remains of the Hellenic genius, was as essential to the complete understanding of the Hellenic past, as was the study of classical literature. He then proceeded :

“Herculaneum is to be excavated, and in our own day. What my friend and colleague Mr. Leonard Shoobridge and I have laboured for will be accomplished. The living generation and those immediately following us will therefore not be deprived of the great treasures of culture which we know lie buried under that site ; nor will the increase in the value of the land, more and more built over, make the future excavation of the site more difficult than it is at present. I am not carried away into exaggeration by the enthusiasm for a cause to which I have devoted myself for some years when I say, that the excavation of Herculaneum will be the most important of all excavations hitherto undertaken, and that these excavations will constitute the most important classical event of all times. I hope that before I have concluded this short address this evening I shall be able to convince you of the truth of the statement I have just made ; for I shall give you the reasons for my beliefs and enforce them by bringing before your eyes pictures of the treasures that have already been found on that site.

“I believe that nobody will nowadays deny that the greatest advance in classical learning in the last fifty years has been achieved directly or indirectly by the development of the study of classical archaeology, and especially by the results of recent excavations. New life has been given to classical study through archaeology in that, in the first place, ever since Winkelmann and his congenial spirits impressed upon the civilised world the true nature of Hellenic art, the specific and distinctive characteristics of Hellenism, which had previously only been realised through the study of literature and philosophy, were brought home to the Western world with a directness and intensity before that unknown. Moreover, in a less direct way, new life has of recent years been given to classical study in that, greatly through the influence of the archaeologist, the inductive methods of observation and research have been embodied, and have thus brought classical study into harmony with the scientific spirit

of our age. It is a disingenuous libel to speak of the classical students of our day as schoolmen, pedants, and mere grammarians, or as mere dilettanti and narrow literary exquisites.

"A still more recent development of classical study, mainly due to the influence of the archaeologist and the excavator, is, to put it negatively, that the classical age has been freed from the unnatural isolation in which it had pleased previous ages to fix it, when they claimed for it quite exceptional conditions and thus aroused an artificial opposition as unjust as it is harmful. The organic connexion between the classical age and other ages and countries, its relation to other civilisations, has been re-established, has endowed it with a truer life, and has also impressed a truer conception of the universal history of man. To illustrate what I mean by an historical analogy nearer to our own times, I would beg you to suppose that the Renaissance in Italy and the Elizabethan age in England had been dealt with by historians and scholars as if they both stood quite by themselves, disconnected from the previous and succeeding ages of Italian and English history, and that this isolation had led to a narrow and an exaggerated concentration upon these single periods in the history of nations.

"The development of archaeological study and of excavation has, of late years especially, widened the vision as regards the lower limits in the history of classical civilisation. In spite of the monumental work done by Gibbon, by Fallmerayer, by Hodgson, by Wickhoff and Strigovski, much work remains for the future as regards the upper and more recent limits of the classical age. But with regard to the earliest periods of classical civilisation the work done by Schliemann, Montelius, Reinach, Ridgeway, and above all by Dr. Evans, has, to put it coarsely, given back to us centuries, nay millennia, of early Greek civilisation, the knowledge of which was absolutely withheld from the generation immediately preceding our own. The connexion with the earlier phases of civilisation, down to the neolithic—nay, the paleolithic ages of man, has been defined; the relation subsisting between the Greek and Graeco-Roman civilisations and that of Egypt and the East—nay, the whole Mediterranean basin, and beyond that of central and northern Europe, has been made manifest. By reaction it has improved the methods

of work and study among the local antiquarians of central and northern Europe, who are no longer actuated by the amateurish spirit of local patriotism, but are becoming scientific observers and archaeologists.

“All this is pure gain, and from our hearts we wish the great workers in this line of study success as we tender to them our enthusiastic appreciation. Nevertheless I venture to strike a note of warning. We are in danger of losing the sense of proportion, of losing sight of the true essence of classical antiquity, owing to the newness and the consequent vividness of interest pertaining to the prehistoric aspect of classical study. Though at times it may be right to insist upon the fact that the Italian Renaissance and the Elizabethan ages form an integral part of the historical development of Italy and of England; though a great lesson may be taught when we learn that the highest fruit and flower of culture was in some way connected with the gropings of half-civilised people, the fact remains that the literature and art of the Renaissance and of the heyday of English life are chiefly worthy of study for the supreme excellence of their artistic production and the depth of their thought as manifestations of the highest beauty and truth, and thus as lasting and living models of the best that men can produce in the later phases of civilisation.

“I wish to say boldly and emphatically that the aesthetic and philosophical side of classical life will always remain the essence of classical study, as it will of all periods of highest civilisation. All that we have to see to is that we are truthful in our discovery and in our exposition of these aesthetic and philosophic qualities. It is then that we are scientific. It is thus the *method* which makes us scientific, not the subject we choose, and in this scientific method it is, above all, important to recognise the essence of the thing we are studying, to distinguish between what is essential or accidental, truly characteristic or casually indistinctive. Now the essence, the truly characteristic feature of classical life, is its aesthetic and philosophical supremacy; and we are never scientific if we ignore this, if the recognition of these central features is not the end and goal of classical study. And I maintain that in dealing, however scientifically and soberly, with classical history, literature, art and philosophy, we must, above

all, be concerned with the aesthetic and philosophic aspect of Hellenic civilisation. Let us encourage as much as in us lies a sober study of the prehistoric periods of Hellenic civilisation ; but the head and forefront of classical studies will always be the highest literature, art and philosophy of the ancient Greeks and Romans.

“ It is primarily from this point of view that I consider Herculaneum to be the most important site for classical excavation. Though the ancient city does not claim great specific importance, not even as great as many of the other Campanian cities, I venture to hold (whatever finds belonging to the prehistoric periods the lowest layers may bring) that its excavation will yield a richer harvest of things of Hellenic beauty and works of Hellenic literature and thought, than were derived from Athens or Rome, Delphi or Olympia, Alexandria or Pergamon. To prove to you that this is not a rash statement I would but point to the simple fact, that the imperfect excavations carried on in the eighteenth century at Herculaneum have yielded in one villa alone a greater number and a higher quality of ancient bronzes, and more specimens of ancient manuscripts, than all the great sites I have mentioned put together.

“ This is due to the nature of its sepulture during the great eruption in the year 79 A.D. Remember that all the well-known and prominent sites of ancient life were exposed, not only to the devastating hand of time, but that they were continually overrun by more or less barbarous hordes during the whole of the middle ages, and were ransacked of all the treasures they contained. The hand of the iconoclast has since destroyed what the rapacity of the savage had spared. Moreover, the nature of the soil is such that, by chemical disintegration, it has destroyed or disfigured most of the buried works of art and of literature. The sand of Egypt is kinder ; but Egypt was not specifically Hellenic, and, highly as we prize all the rich treasure which such sites as Oxyrhynchos have given us, the manuscripts come in a sporadic and imperfect form.

“ All these unfavourable conditions do not obtain at our Herculaneum. What proved so fatal to its inhabitants during that great catastrophe may turn out to be most fortunate for subsequent generations of civilised men. Here life was arrested in its prime, hermetically sealed for us to restore it to its pristine

vigour and beauty. We have reason to hope, nay, to expect, that the actual life of this ancient community is there preserved to us as it flourished more than eighteen hundred years ago.

“ These conditions of sepulture are furthermore much more favourable at Herculaneum than at Pompeii. From an account given in Pliny’s letter, and still more from the evidence of actual excavation, we know that Pompeii was covered by ashes and *lapilli*, and not completely covered—only to a height of twenty feet—and that, therefore, the inhabitants could return, and did return, to carry off some of their most cherished treasures. Herculaneum, on the other hand, was completely covered with greater suddenness by what is best described as a great stream of liquid mud, ashes and water mixed (not lava), to a height of between seventy and eighty feet above the roofs of the houses, which in Pompeii remained visible. Moreover, the substance that covered Herculaneum is more favourable to the perfect preservation of the objects thus buried : bronzes retain their delicate patina as on the day when they were made, marble is not calcined, glass is not melted—nay, even papyri can be restored to legibility. That this is so I shall prove to you absolutely by the objects found there which I shall bring before you in a few minutes.

“ Furthermore, it can be proved that, whereas Pompeii was a provincial and commercial town without any life of higher culture, the smaller Herculaneum was a resort that drew to it cultured and prominent Romans such as the Balbi, Agrippina, Lucius Calpurnius Piso, and many others. In one villa there the majority of the beautiful works of art which I shall show you this evening were discovered in the eighteenth century, and 1700 more or less perfect manuscripts, forming, unfortunately for us, the library of a specialist in epicurean philosophy. Now there must be further villas. Even the one villa found was not completely excavated in the eighteenth century. Should another villa have belonged to some ordinary Roman of culture, not a specialist, we have reason to hope that all the standard authors of antiquity might be represented among the finds. We hardly dare allow our imagination to realise the great treasures that may await us there.

“ Since the rich harvest in ancient works of art was reaped on this site in the eighteenth century, with the exception of some

slighter attempts, no great and concentrated effort has been made, and for the last thirty years all excavation has been completely abandoned, the work being concentrated on Pompeii. The reason for this is the simple fact that the town of Resina is built above the site, and that the expense of such an excavation would be so enormous that neither Italy nor any one nation could be expected to undertake such a task. It was therefore, as you probably all know, that I conceived the plan some years ago of uniting all civilised nations to co-operate with Italy in the excavation of Herculaneum. It was to be an international enterprise under the leadership, and governed by the laws of, Italy. You are doubtless all aware that this scheme for international excavation was twice on the eve of realisation. It is now more than a year and a half ago that Italy decided to do it by herself, and at once. A commission was then appointed to direct the work. But the work has not yet begun. Let us hope that there will be no further delay. I can say with sincerity—and I am sure you will all join me in my expression of the hope—that I wish all success to attend this great enterprise of the Italian Government. Meanwhile I do not think that any one can find fault with me if I express my regret that the plan of such a great international excavation was not adopted in this case, for I am convinced that only by such means can the great work be carried out adequately. I need not dwell further on my reasons for this belief, as I have given them in full in a book which Mr. Shoobridge and I have just published. But what I deplore, if possible still more deeply, in the rejection of such a proposal, is the fact that such an international co-operation on the part of all civilised nations would have done more for the advancement of peace and goodwill among civilised men, for the progress of civilised humanity, than all the peace conferences and congresses. It would have been a real union of the several nationalities working together in one great cause, and would have bound them together. For art and science and culture are the real links uniting us.

“Now let me demonstrate to you *ad oculos*, by means of some illustrations, my reasons for considering Herculaneum the most important classical site.”

Here a demonstration of slides followed.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10TH.

THE third session of the Association was held in the Old University Buildings, Edmund Street, Mr. S. H. Butcher in the chair.

(A) BUSINESS MEETING, 10 A.M.

Mr. E. HARRISON read the Report of the Council, as follows :

"Once more the Council can report a very successful year's work. The General Meeting held in Cambridge last October was well attended ; important work has since been done in Committees ; and the membership of the Association, which stood at about 1140 in October 1906, and at about 1250 in October 1907, stands now at about 1350.

"It is with special pleasure that the Council has heard that another Local Branch of the Association (the third) is in process of formation, under the name of the Liverpool and District Branch of the Classical Association.

"The Local Correspondents of the Association now number 49.

"The Council has been in communication with the organising Committees of the South African Classical Association and the South Australian Association. Seeing that the members of such Associations in the Colonies cannot often attend our meetings, the Council has considered what relations should be formed between such Associations and ours, and the proposals of the Council will be submitted to the General Meeting of the Association as amendments to the Rules.

"The second volume of *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* appeared early in the year, and was again offered to members at a reduced price. A considerable number of members took advantage of this offer, but the total sale was still disappointing. The Council attaches the highest value to this publication, and thinks that a wider diffusion of it will further the objects of the Association. It has therefore been decided that for the present *The*

Year's Work shall be issued free of charge to all members of the Association who may apply for a copy and pay the cost of postage and packing. This will involve a heavy burden on our finances, but it is to be hoped that an increase in our membership will result.

"The Balance Sheet for 1907 was printed in the last volume of *Proceedings* (pp. 112-14), and is now submitted for approval. A corresponding Balance Sheet for 1908 will be ready at the end of the present year.¹

"Two Reports of Committees are submitted herewith:

"(1) The Report on Greek Pronunciation, the general principle of which was approved at the Cambridge Meeting, is now again submitted after certain changes in details.

"(2) An Interim Report of the Curricula Committee, which was appointed by the Council in accordance with a resolution passed at the General Meeting of 1907.

"In regard to the petition presented by the Classical Association to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in 1906 to take into consideration the abolition of the separate Greek Grammar paper at Responsions and the Previous Examination respectively, and the substitution for it of an easy paper in unprepared translation, the action of the University of Cambridge on the lines recommended by our Report was recorded last year; and the Council has now to report that at Oxford a statute embodying the principle of the petition, though not in the precise form suggested by the Classical Association, was promulgated in Congregation on November 26th, 1907, but was rejected on a division by a majority of 24 (placets 59, non-placets, 83). The Council understands, however, that the matter is still under consideration by the Hebdomadal Council, and will probably come before the University again in some revised form.

"The Council records with deep regret the deaths of two prominent members of the Association. Professor T. D. Seymour of Yale rendered the Association valuable assistance in connexion with the scheme for the pronunciation of Greek, and a letter from him on the subject will be printed in the next volume of *Proceedings*.² By the death of Professor John Churton Collins of Birmingham classical education has lost one of its most enthusiastic champions. He was to have read a paper on

¹ Printed on p. 114.

² Printed on p. 119.

Greek as a Factor in Popular Education at the General Meeting of the present year.

“The Council desires to put on record its sense of indebtedness to the citizens of Birmingham who by their liberality have made excellent provision for the entertainment of the Association on the occasion of the General Meeting of the present year. A list of the contributors to the local Guarantee Fund is already in the hands of some members, and additional subscriptions have since then come in. A complete list will be published in the next volume of *Proceedings*.¹”

Professor SONNENSCHN.—“May I propose one addition to the Report? Mr. Harrison is compelled by his duties in Cambridge to resign the office of Secretary which he has filled with so much efficiency for three years; and I am sure that it would be in accordance with the wishes of the members of the Association that some expression of gratitude to him for his services should be formally recorded. And I am glad of this opportunity of thanking Mr. Harrison personally for the exceedingly valuable help which he has given me in all matters requiring a clear head. On him has also fallen the duty of editing the *Proceedings* during his tenure of office; and he has done that work admirably. I move the addition of the following words to the Report: ‘The Council records with gratitude the efficient services which Mr. Harrison has rendered as Secretary during the past three years, and regrets the necessity of his retirement.’”

The amendment having been duly seconded, the Report, as thus amended, was unanimously adopted.

Professor W. C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS.—“As Hon. Treasurer I have to ask your approval of the Balance Sheet published at the beginning of the year. The *Proceedings* contained the Balance Sheet as it stood at the end of the year 1907. The net balance for the year was over £100, that sum being in addition to the £200 which we had invested before the meeting this time last year.”

After a statement of the finances up to date, the Treasurer proceeded: “You would like, I expect, to know the actual normal income of the year. It is, roughly speaking, £400. The normal expenditure for next year will be, I think, about

¹ Printed on p. 97.

£350—that is, taking into consideration the very large expense we shall be put to in supplying the third volume of *The Year's Work* to all members that apply for it. The actual cost to the Association for that will be about £100. But it will not be an increase of £100 expenditure, because it cost us last year £80, and it will cost us this year something like £60: so that the increase of the liabilities of the Association on account of *The Year's Work* will be something like £50. I estimate, then, that the expenditure we shall be put to next year, unless something extraordinary happens, will be £350, which ought to leave us with a balance at the end of next year of about £50 on the year's expenditure. I think, then, all members of the Association should do their best to keep the increase of membership going.

“I have to record my thanks to the members of the Association who have so kindly taken up the use of bankers' orders. Dr. Kenyon, my predecessor, asked your help in that way last year on my behalf, and I am glad that so many members have taken it up. It certainly decreases the work that I am put to if members use those bankers' orders.

“In moving your approval of the Balance Sheet as presented in the last volume of the year's *Proceedings* I wish to put on record my very great indebtedness to Mr. Pantin for his kindness in auditing the accounts.”

The Balance Sheet was accepted.

Dr. GILBERT MURRAY, in proposing a President for the ensuing year, said: “I think that this Society, if we look back on the last few years, has been particularly happy in its Presidents—both when we had Professor Butcher from among ourselves to rule over us, and when we have gone out to the rulers of the great world and asked them to be our Presidents for the year. I remember my old friend Mr. Arthur Sidgwick dividing scholars into those who would or would not read Greek for their own pleasure on a desert island. Well, I think in regard to the name—and it is a very distinguished name—which I am going to put before you, that there is evidence that the person in question would read Greek for his own pleasure on a desert island. I am going to propose to you Lord Cromer. (Cheers.) We have had a good

deal of evidence from his own published translations of the classics, and from the interest he is known to have taken in various more or less abstruse classical books written by members of the Society and others, that, not indeed on a desert island, but when governing Egypt, he still read Greek and Latin literature; and I think any one who could read Greek and Latin books when governing Egypt would certainly read many more such books on a desert island. I have, then, the greatest pleasure in proposing to you the name of Lord Cromer for our future President."

The motion was seconded by the Rev. Canon HOBHOUSE and carried unanimously.

The Rev. Canon PAPILLON.—"I have to propose that the existing Vice-Presidents be reappointed, with the addition of three names which I think will commend themselves to everybody. The first is that of the retiring President, the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith. Had we known nothing of his career as a scholar, we should have had the evidence of our own ears last night to assure us. The second is that of Dr. Warren, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford. And the third is that of Dr. Kenyon, of the British Museum, who has rendered long and valuable services as Treasurer and as a member of our Council. Whether or not these three gentlemen would satisfy the test that has been suggested by Dr. Murray as to reading Greek for pleasure on a desert island, I may say that if any fragment of Homer happened to be wafted to that desert island as the result of disintegrating criticism, I think they would take advantage of what they could pick up!"

The motion was seconded by Dr. POSTGATE and carried unanimously.

Professor MACKAIL.—"The part which the officers of the Association take in its work and its usefulness cannot easily be exaggerated. It is upon the joint Secretaries and upon the Treasurer that continuity of administration and policy very largely depends. We have been hitherto very fortunate in having had a comparatively small number of changes in these important offices, and the continuity has thus been assured which will no doubt continue through succeeding changes. The Treasurer, I

am glad to say, is able to continue his services, and I have great pleasure in moving his re-election.

"The Council were faced recently, somewhat to their alarm, with the prospect of losing both the existing Honorary Secretaries. I am very glad to think that Professor Sonnenschein continues, for a time at all events, willing to go on with the duties which he has fulfilled with so much zeal and efficiency ever since the formation of the Association, with the foundation of which he was closely connected. In his work he has been assisted, as the Association has a few minutes ago formally recognised, by Mr. Harrison. Mr. Harrison is now obliged by the call of other duties to retire from the joint secretaryship, and it is proposed by the Council that Mr. J. H. Sleeman, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, should be appointed by the Association to take his place. I beg, therefore, to move 'that as Treasurer Professor W. C. F. Walters, and as Secretary Professor Sonnenschein be re-elected, and that Mr. J. H. Sleeman be elected as second Secretary.'"

The motion was seconded by the Rev. Professor HENRY BROWNE, and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN.—"There are five normal vacancies on the Council, and there is a further vacancy created by what we have done just now in electing Dr. Kenyon as a Vice-President. The nominations of the Council are these: Professor E. V. Arnold; Mr. C. D. Chambers, Assistant Lecturer here in Birmingham; Mr. E. Harrison, our retiring Secretary; Mr. D. G. Hogarth; and Mr. W. G. Rushbrooke, Head Master of St. Olave's.

"Two other nominations have been sent in—Professor Myres of Liverpool, who has been duly nominated by Professor Bosanquet, and Mr. Winbolt, who has been nominated by Canon Bell. Therefore, as a formal matter, and in order to give the meeting an opportunity of voting, I will propose the names of Professor Myres and of Mr. Winbolt."

These seven names having been seconded, a ballot was then taken, Dr. KENYON and Professor MACKAIL being elected as Tellers. (For result of ballot, see below, p. 79.)

The CHAIRMAN at this point mentioned that a document had come into their hands that morning from Dr. L. Bellos, of

Alexandria, which was obviously intended for the previous day's meeting on Greek Pronunciation. The Council would take the document into consideration.

Professor POSTGATE.—“ We have now to consider the sequel to a movement taken up by the Association at a former meeting. When a change in the name of the Association by dropping the local limitation of England and Wales was proposed, it was contemplated that this alteration would be one in accord with the future history of the Association. Since then, as you have heard from the Council's Report, similar bodies to ourselves have expressed a desire to be in closer relation with us. New rules to make this possible are submitted to you to-day, as follows :

(1) *New Rule (No. 20) :*

“ ‘ The Classical Association shall have power to enter into relations with other bodies within the limits of the British Empire having like objects with its own, upon their application to the Council and by vote of the same. The Council shall in each case determine the contribution payable by any such body, and the privileges to be enjoyed by its members. The President of any body so associated shall during his term of office be a Vice-President of the Classical Association. But the members of the associated body shall not be deemed to be members of the Classical Association, nor shall they have any of the rights or privileges of members beyond such as they shall enjoy through the operation of this rule.

“ ‘ The provisions of Rules 8, 10, 12, and 16 shall not apply to the Vice-Presidents created under this rule. If the President of any body so associated is unable to attend the meetings of Council, the Council shall have power to invite that body to nominate a representative to serve for a limited period (not exceeding one year) as an additional member of Council beyond the number 15 mentioned in Rule 3.’

(2) *Addition to Rule 7 :*

“ ‘ After the word “ University ” shall be added the words

“ or at any place within the limits of the British Empire which has been recommended by a special resolution of the Council.”

“ I pause here to elucidate some of the points which are raised by this proposed new rule. First, the ‘ other bodies within the limits of the British Empire having like objects with our own ’ are, in the first instance, the bodies whose names you have heard read out in the Council’s Report—the Classical Association of South Australia and that of South Africa. Again, it was felt that the Council should be free to deal with all such applications on the merits of each case, and this is why the next sentence says, ‘ The Council shall decide the joint contribution to be paid and the privileges to be enjoyed by its members.’ You will note that the contribution (if any and to whatever extent) will be payable by the Association—that is, by the whole body, and not by subscriptions from the individual members of that body. The Associations affederated, or whatever word may be chosen in such cases, would have complete autonomy just as before they were affederated. Next it was felt that the President of such affederating Associations should have some formal bond of connexion with our Council, and the most convenient method of attaining that end would be, it was thought, by making its President one of our Vice-Presidents. Now, it might happen that a President could not attend our meetings, and yet both the Council and the affederating Association might feel it desirable that the latter should be represented on the Council. This case is provided for by the last paragraph.

“ The intervening sentence is simply a clause of caution to prevent the representatives of affederating Associations being treated as ordinary Vice-Presidents: it will enact that the provisions of Rules 8, 10, 11, and 12, do not apply to the new Vice-Presidents or their representatives. The last proposal is an addition to Rule 7, where it is proposed that after the word University shall be added the words, ‘ or at any place within the limits of the British Empire which has been recommended by a special Resolution of the Council.’ I think most present will agree that in the future we might with advantage have a rather wider range of choice for the place of our Annual Meeting. At present we are limited to ‘ some city or town in England and Wales

which is the seat of a University.' This proposal will enlarge our powers and give what I think will prove to be a very valuable option. The policy of casting our net as widely as possible, and making the influence and authority of the Classical Association felt throughout the whole range of British influence, is one which should commend itself without argument to the members of the Association here assembled. The Report has been carefully discussed by the Council in its details, and it is submitted as the result of the application of many minds to an important matter."

Professor W. C. F. WALTERS.—"In seconding this proposal I have very little to add to Dr. Postgate's clear exposition of the meaning of the change of rules. You may say there is a little vagueness about the contributions to be made; but this was intentional—somewhat, in fact, like the vagueness attaching to the contributions to the Imperial fleet. And as there is an old maxim that there should be no taxation without representation, we have added the other clause, that the Presidents of the affiliated Associations represent those Associations on our Council; thus, too, it will become quite an Imperial Council."

Mr. E. R. GARNSEY, speaking as a member of the Classical Association resident in Australia, said that he intended to urge his own colony, New South Wales, to take advantage of the new rule. He thought it wise that certain points had been left vague, because it was not clear how the bringing of kindred bodies into affiliation with the central body would work. He was glad to hear Professor Postgate's statement that the contribution payable by an associated body was to be a lump sum from the whole body, and not a payment of individual subscriptions. The advantage of such bodies becoming federated to the Classical Association was that its publications would thus get into the hands of classical students on the circumference of the empire. The subscription payable by affederated bodies should be fixed high enough to enable the central Association to supply every member with all its publications. If the subscription did not include the cost of those publications, members would very likely fail to obtain them.

Mr. R. T. ELLIOTT said that, as he had been connected with the University of Melbourne for several years, he took special interest in what was put forward. He knew something of native

Australian scholars and also of undergraduates, with whom he had come into intimate relation; and, rightly or wrongly, the feeling was that they were snubbed by English people. The proposal before the meeting would do much to relieve that feeling.

The CHAIRMAN assured Mr. Garnsey that the Council had given special attention to securing that the allied Associations in different parts of the Empire should receive the two publications of the central Association on favourable terms.

Professor CONWAY said that the Council had received a letter from the newly formed branch in South Africa, making definite proposals, and attaching great importance to being able to obtain the publications of the Association.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Mr. E. HARRISON.—“I beg to move that the date of the next General Meeting be fixed provisionally for Friday and Saturday, January 7th and 8th, 1910, and that the place be London. I would explain how it is that this proposal involves holding no meeting during the next calendar year. The fact is, we are three months ahead of our time. Until the delightful visit we paid to Manchester our meetings were held in December or January, at the turn of the year. The meeting in Manchester put us three months ahead, and we have been three months ahead ever since. It is now proposed that we get back to our old habits and old place. I should also like to take this opportunity of explaining what must be a regrettable accident: when the time of the present meeting was fixed last year it was fixed under the impression, I believe universal at the time, that the date of the meeting was convenient not only for the University of Birmingham and for Mr. Asquith the President, but also for the University of Oxford. That impression remained when the final settlement of the date was before the Council. I have in my hands a letter to my colleague Professor Sonnenschein from one of the Oxford members of the Council from which I may read a few lines: ‘I can only say that it has been a shock to us here to discover that under a statute of Archbishop Laud Michaelmas Term this year begins at so exceptionally early a date.’

"I hope that representatives of the University of Oxford who are here—and I am afraid a regrettably large number who for this reason are not here—will accept this explanation and acquit us of blame for fixing a date which turns out to be unsuitable for them."

The CHAIRMAN brought the business meeting to a close by announcing the result of the ballot. The largest number of votes had been cast for Mr. Harrison, Professor Arnold, Mr. Hogarth, Mr. Chambers, Professor Myres and Mr. Rushbrooke.

(B) PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE CURRICULA COMMITTEE

At 11 a.m. Professor SONNENSCHN, Chairman of the Committee, moved formally,—“That the Report of the Curricula Committee¹ be received and entered on the Minutes.”

This was seconded by Professor CONWAY and carried unanimously.

Professor SONNENSCHN then moved the following Resolution, based on the Report :

“That the Classical Association welcomes and desires to make widely known the evidence which has been collected by the Curricula Committee as to the value of even a short course of Latin as a training in thought and expression, and a means towards the mastery of English and the acquisition of modern foreign languages.”

Professor SONNENSCHN said : “I desire to call attention to the word ‘even’ in the Resolution, in order to guard against misapprehension. By using this form of words the Curricula Committee does not mean to imply that a short course of Latin, such as is contemplated in this Report, is sufficient for pupils who are going in for a full classical course in schools of a classical type, or even that it is all that is desirable in other schools. The Resolution merely commits us to the position that even a short course of Latin, such as is referred to in the answers of our correspondents, has its value.

“From the answers of some of these it is clear that they

¹ Printed on p. 106.

regard Latin grammar, if I may use an expression of my own, as a kind of *visible logic*. On the whole I do think with our correspondents that the difficulties which are felt by non-latinised pupils, in understanding the structure of English sentences, are very considerable, and that they are largely assisted by even an elementary knowledge of the fundamentals of Latin syntax. I remember that in the early days of this University, if I may speak of the Mason College as the predecessor of the University of Birmingham, it was my unhappy lot to lecture on logic as well as some other subjects; and I remember one of my pupils coming to me with some indignation in regard to an example which I had given for practice in throwing propositions into logical form. The instance was Great is Diana of the Ephesians'; which, when you throw it into logical form, I insisted, becomes 'Diana of the Ephesians is great.' Well, this seemed to my non-latinised pupil to be of the nature of an act of violence. If, said he, one is at liberty to turn sentences upside down, there is no knowing what will happen. You might as well say that 'The cat bit the dog' is the same as 'The dog bit the cat.' I also found by experience—I am looking back some fifteen or twenty years—that some of my pupils brought up in the elementary schools of Birmingham had serious difficulties in understanding why the verb 'to be' should not be followed by what they called the 'objective case.' It was part of the creed of the board-school boy of those days that whatever comes after any verb is of the nature of an object.

"In the Report (p. 3) you will find a phrase of my old friend Mr. Arthur Jamson Smith, till recently Head Master of the Camp Hill Branch of King Edward's School in Birmingham, which struck me as particularly interesting: 'The *symbols* representing the phenomena in Latin make Latin preferable to English even for the purpose of teaching English Grammar.' I am reminded here of some lines written by a German lady, the Baroness von Ebner Eschenbach, which apply, I think, *mutatis mutandis*, to English:

Wer Griechisch nicht kann und besonders Latein,
Der wird auch des Deutschen Meister nicht sein.
Soll unsere Sprache versinken im Pfuhe,
Dann treibt nur die Klassiker fort aus der Schule.

"The testimony of Miss Sanders, now Head Mistress of Tunbridge Wells High School, which you will find on page 4 of the Report, seems to me very important as to the value of a basis of Latin for the study of modern foreign languages. Miss Sanders took the testimony of a number of modern language teachers with whom she had been brought into contact; her answer, therefore, really represents more than one opinion—as indeed do the answers of several others of our correspondents. For instance, Mr. Holme of Dewsbury took the evidence of twenty-three head masters of schools of the type which were especially contemplated in our inquiry.

"We are often told nowadays that Latin is a survival. Let us hope that it is a case of the 'survival of the fittest.' Zielinski in his recent book *Die Antike und Wir* ('Antiquity and Ourselves') has what struck me as a very powerful and suggestive simile. He says, 'You might suppose, when you consider the human frame as consisting of flesh and bones, that the best way of building up that frame must be by way of a diet of meat and bones. But the experience of civilised nations shows that it is not *meat* but *wheat* that makes the best human flesh and bone.' The application of the simile to the subject under discussion is direct and practical; experience has shown the value of the literary—the more general and the less direct—intellectual provender which has been traditional in our schools. At any rate we of the Classical Association can echo with perfect sincerity the prayer of the great German poet Goethe :

Möge das Studium der griechischen und römischen Literatur immerfort die Basis der höheren Bildung bleiben (*Sprüche in Prosa*).

"I note that Goethe says *Literatur*, not *Linguistik*. On the importance of the literary point of view in the study of the classics we of the Curricula Committee have insisted as strongly as we could in a previous Report. But we also believe in the study of the ancient *languages*—or at any rate of Latin—as an integral part of the curriculum of all secondary schools; and so, no doubt, did Goethe.

"Many of us have read recently a correspondence in the *Morning Post* headed 'The Reform of the Secondary Curriculum.' Well, the Curricula Committee stands for the reform as well as for the

maintenance of classical studies. Improvement in the methods of teaching has always been one of the objects of the Classical Association, as is stated in its Rules, and as the Prime Minister reminded us last night. But our reforms proceed on different lines from those advocated by Mr. A. C. Benson in the *Morning Post* of September 4th, 1908. In his scheme Latin, to say nothing of Greek, has no place in the curriculum of the average boy at a secondary school. The subjects of instruction for the average boy, says Mr. Benson, should be seven only—English, French, History, Modern Geography, Elementary Science, Arithmetic, and simple Bible teaching; and he wants a strong Commission, apparently a Royal Commission, to see to it that all secondary schools are remodelled on these lines; though he would allow boys of ability above the average to ‘lay special stress’ (whatever that may mean) on one or more subjects—linguistic, scientific, mathematical, or historical. There is some ambiguity in the phrase ‘linguistic subjects,’ on which Mr. Benson would allow boys of superior ability to ‘lay special stress’¹; but in regard to the average boy, at any rate, that is to say the great mass of boys in secondary schools, Mr. Benson goes on to say explicitly that classics have no place in the curriculum which he has suggested. Is not this programme a little too much ‘at large’? It seems to me very much in the air. Cut down your curriculum to this ‘irreducible minimum’ by leaving out of it all that is specially characteristic of secondary education—for even French is only to be learnt in such a way as to be ‘fluently read and correctly written’²—and I doubt whether your average school-boy who confines his attention during a long school-life to this irreducible minimum will find his school studies more interesting than they were in the bad old days of Latin and Greek. But

¹ In a subsequent paragraph Mr. Benson says that he has no animus against the classics, and that in his opinion every boy who can profit by them should still have the opportunity of doing so. And in later letters to the *Morning Post* (Oct. 14th and Oct. 24th) he explains that he intended to include Latin among “linguistic subjects.” How the inclusion of it is to be effected in practice under his scheme he does not say; but he speaks of his scheme as one which is at present only “experimental,” and which will hereafter be worked out in greater detail in the form of a time-table.

² In his letter of Oct. 24th Mr. Benson says that he would by no means neglect the literary side of French studies.

there is one suggestion which I should like to make. Mr. Benson is not alone among educationalists in complaining of the perplexities or confusion of ideas which result from learning several different languages at the same time. That we are bound, as a consequence, to cut out all but one of these languages from the school curriculum is a conclusion which few will accept. But is there not another possibility? The great point is, as the Prime Minister said last night, that the highest educational value shall be got out of the time which is given to the teaching of Latin—as of other subjects.

“And here I would suggest that something may and ought to be done to economise time and energy by removing some of the unnecessary difficulties which arise in studying several different languages *pari passu*. In using this phrase I am, of course, not suggesting that two or three languages should be begun *at the same time*. On the contrary, the Curricula Committee has insisted (in its Report of 1907) on there being an interval between the commencement of the first language and the commencement of the second, and another interval between the commencement of the second language and the commencement of the third. But that two or three languages have to be taught side by side in the later stages of the school course seems inevitable and not undesirable. Now I feel strongly that we ought to take in hand seriously the problem of a simplification and unification of the terminology and classifications employed in the teaching of different grammars, with a view to getting rid of the unnecessary perplexities and difficulties which at present confront pupils who have to study more than one foreign language. This is not a new question; but it has recently risen into new importance owing to the fact that the principle of a common grammatical scheme for all the languages taught in schools has now been officially adopted by the *Reform-Gymnasien* of Germany, under the lead of the Goethe-Gymnasium at Frankfurt-am-Main.

“I am aware of the great practical difficulties which have to be faced in any scheme of this kind; but I hope that the Curricula Committee will at any rate give its consideration to the question whether it is possible to go ahead on these lines.”

The Rev. W. C. COMPTON, seconding the resolution, said that the Report was headed “Interim Report,” because the Committee

was going to carry on further deliberations in matters akin to what had already been reported on. They thought that even in schools where no advanced knowledge of Latin was expected, some attention should be paid to the literature. They were therefore considering the preparation of something like a definite scheme of Latin reading, embracing what appeared to be the best passages and the best authors for reading in such schools as allowed only three or four years to the study of Latin. The greatest difficulty in any such considerations was the burden inflicted by examining bodies. If only they could educate examining bodies to examine as they liked, their lives would be much happier than they were! Another difficulty was that of persuading the British parent that any kind of utility could be got out of the study of anything so "useless" as Latin. They hoped that good might result in that respect from passing the Resolution "that the Association desires to make widely known the evidence which has been collected as to the value of even a short course of Latin." It was hardly incorrect to say that a sound education should embrace nothing at all that was called "useful."

Mr. R. L. LEIGHTON.—"I have pleasure in supporting the Resolution. I have read the Report with a great deal of interest; and what particularly interested me was to see how ladies, coming to these matters with fresh minds and under circumstances somewhat different from the men, arrive enthusiastically at the same opinions that have been driven home to us. I was particularly pleased to read Miss Purdie's remark, 'that Latin in the curriculum saved an enormous amount of time by abolishing English grammar.' I have certainly always found that drill in elementary Latin, including a very resolute struggle with the three concords, was in the not very long run the easiest way of teaching the elements of English or German, or of any other grammar we have to grapple with."

Professor E. V. ARNOLD.—"The method which the Curricula Committee has adopted has led our thoughts largely on a new tack. By going round to those who are teaching in the schools and asking them what they think of the value of Latin, the Committee has obtained evidence that training in Latin affords excellent preparation for teaching English and modern foreign languages—a fact which, I think, was not so prominently in

our minds before this Report was drawn up. I think we have been rather inclined for many years to lay emphasis on the value of Latin books in themselves as literature and as openings into history. This point of view is certainly as important as ever. But the Report throws us back upon the value of the grammatical part of Latin study, which I think has been lately less appreciated than in the previous generation. I suppose all of us who are engaged in the teaching of Latin must confess that in the matter of expression and of grammatical accuracy we find in the textbooks now commonly used a great variety of doctrine not all of which is consistent or indeed quite intelligible either to us or to those we teach ; and I suppose we all remember that in our own schooldays the worst English style that could be thought of was that commonly current in the translation of Latin books ; and such English is, I fear, still accepted by teachers in Latin as good enough for the purpose. I believe that one of the first things we must set our minds to is to see that bad English is driven out of the Latin class, that the author's meaning should be expressed in the best possible English, and so the teaching of Latin be made a discipline in English speaking. The Classical Association a year or two ago laid stress on the importance in the teaching of grammar of confining questions to those words and idioms which are familiar in the authors most regularly used in the schools, and of keeping out exceptional and strange words. One Examining Body, at any rate—the University of Wales—has taken that hint to heart, and has produced a programme based on the lines the Classical Association suggested. We have therefore some reason to hope that if we can lay down the lines of curricula for secondary schools, and say in rough outline what should be taught and examined upon, the Association will have the power of enforcing what it thinks right.”

Sir OLIVER LODGE.—“ No one attending the brilliant gathering of last night would feel that they were attending ‘ A Grammarian’s Funeral.’ But I take it that, more or less, we were attending the funeral of effete methods of teaching.

“ As one who is anxious for the welfare of the Faculty of Arts in this University—students of which have steadily been increasing in number of late years, Latin being no exception,—I can assure you that your visit has been of the utmost value to

us here. There is a tendency in some quarters to think that in classical subjects we are so much overshadowed by the magnitude of a neighbouring University that it is barely necessary for us to pay much attention to them. But, although overshadowed, we must not consent to be extinguished. The Faculty of Arts has a very real mission and duty to this community. Many people here realise that in this University we do not live by Engineering and Metallurgy alone; and, as Professor Sonnenschein has said, food and the resulting tissue need not be of the same nature. But this wholesome sentiment might be both strengthened and widened; and a visit, like this, of the most eminent scholars must contribute to that end. For I take it that your meetings are to some extent of the nature of a missionary enterprise. That is why you meet in different places, and why, I suppose, you do not always wish to meet with closed doors—admitting members only. People in the locality who are not members take an interest in hearing and seeing distinguished people; so if you would allow me to make a suggestion, I cannot but think that it would be useful if, in imitation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, you had a class of temporary or local members, who might be called Associates, who could join for the one meeting only—without any pretence to be scholars—in order to get the benefit of your deliberations, to get behind the scenes, as it were, and to get a notion of what we may call the ‘atmosphere’ of the present stage of classical studies. We should thus not feel ourselves quite so much outsiders as we have perhaps done on this occasion. I have a right to be present to-day because I was specially invited by Professor Sonnenschein to attend. May I therefore incidentally comment on a remark that fell from Mr. Compton, that parents must be taught that the boys at school are to learn nothing useful? I suggest that observations of this kind, if they get into the papers, as they usually do, are liable to do harm. They are so easily quoted and misunderstood. We know what is meant—that there must not be too close attention to the idea of utility; or, as I should prefer to put it, the definition of the term ‘useful’ is a very wide one. As a matter of fact, a great many of the arguments for classical studies that have been adduced to-day were to the effect that they are useful—useful in

enabling a pupil to understand English grammar, in assisting him to learn modern languages, and so on. But, quite irrespective of any question of utility, I myself hope much from the course which we are beginning now for the study of the Greek classics in English translations ; so as to enable people to begin the study from that end, to realise the meaning and contents of the ancient books, to cultivate a taste for literature ; and then a few may develop into scholars. The great bulk of people cannot be scholars—that must always be a privilege of the few—but, nevertheless, let people once realise the beauties and the humanities embedded in the ancient literature, they will understand the enthusiasm felt for it, they will recognise it as an asset of the human race, and they will not willingly let it die.”

Miss A. P. MACVAY (Classical Mistress in the Wadleigh High School, New York).—“ In America pupils have only four years for the study of Latin in secondary schools before passing on to the Universities. We have found the testimony practically unanimous from the teachers of English, of French, of German, of History, that the good resulting from the pupils’ four years of classical work is very apparent in all the other branches they take up. For instance, in my school in New York, the pupils who do not study Latin are less desired by the teachers in the subjects I have mentioned. They always say—Let us have those who have studied Latin, and if possible those who have studied Latin and Greek. We in America recognise our debt to England for inspiration and guidance in teaching the classics. Yesterday’s discussion about Pronunciation and this to-day about Curricula I have followed with the keenest interest ; and I hope to pass on something of what has been said to my fellow-teachers in America.”

Mr. R. T. ELLIOTT said that one thing they should seek to do in their public school teaching of Latin was to combine it even in its earliest stages with comparative philology, the great value of which for boys was that it taught the reason of things ; and the reason was often more important than the fact.

Miss ROOKE.—“ I also would plead for a closer connexion between Latin and French in schools. Some teachers of Latin seem never to have heard of French, and some teachers of French to have no idea of Latin. It would be well if the teacher of Latin could take some part in the French teaching, to show the

connexion between the two, and the descent of the Romance languages, thus aiding the study of the latter and further stimulating the pupil to acquire Italian and Spanish later."

Mr. W. F. DINGWALL thought that those who held the opinion that the study of Latin made it unnecessary to learn English grammar rather minimised the difficulty of learning English simply by a study of Latin. He believed that the use of the superfluous *but* in a sentence like "I do not doubt but that he will come," and the incorrect use of the relative in "Mr. Jones, whom I understand has left already," were due to a certain extent to Latin.

The CHAIRMAN, in bringing the discussion to a close, said that an immense amount of light had been thrown on the value of the study of Latin by the experience they had got from those who were engaged in the teaching of women. He had been for some years past immensely impressed by educational reports drawn up in all parts of America as to the growing belief in Latin as a basis of linguistic education.

The Resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Mr. R. CARY GILSON.—"I have been entrusted with the pleasant task of proposing the second Resolution :

"That the Classical Association welcomes the Report of the British Association Committee, 1907, as recognising the value of literary studies in the School and the importance of training in English, and also as a protest against the danger of an overcrowded curriculum."

"Most of us have probably read the Report of the British Association, Section L, with feelings of satisfaction, not unmixed with surprise. We had been told by many eminent authorities that British education generally was in a bad way—a proposition to which I am always ready to assent, for it depends on the standard of reference—and that the particular way in which it was so bad was that the curriculum was all wrong. We have now before us a model curriculum, in the framing of which some at least of our most energetic critics have taken part; and the surprising thing is that the time-table thus suggested corresponds so closely with that in use already in many English schools, that it is no easy matter to detect a difference. I feel, therefore, a

little as a schoolboy might, who should be sent up to the head master expecting a thrashing, and receive only an admonition to go on doing as he had done already. Nevertheless I do heartily welcome this Report, because for the first time it affords a common ground on which to build something of constructive value. So long as some of our critics talked as if the whole object of education were to make engineers, such ground was hard to find. It is otherwise now that we have a reasoned statement of this kind, allowing a considerable portion of time to be devoted to literary subjects. This gives something to work on, and affords a prospect of agreement on points which may still be in dispute. Both sections of the Resolution deserve, I think, your hearty support: that which refers to English, because of the plain fact that the first essential in all good education is training in the use of the mother tongue; and that which refers to the simplification of the curriculum, because it is perhaps the most crying need of the time. Half our difficulties arise from what is here pronounced 'the ill-founded belief that the curriculum should be an abstract of all modern knowledge.'"

The Resolution was seconded by MRS. VERRALL, who said, "I should like to emphasise what has been said in protest against an overcrowded curriculum. On page 7 of our Report we say, 'We are at one with the Committee of the British Association in recognising that there is a need of secondary schools of different types and with different curricula or combinations of curricula.' If there is a general trend towards educational improvement in the direction of widening and not narrowing the choice of schools in later life, it becomes more and more important that the authorities who are going to manage those schools should agree as to the preliminary training. For if there is no general agreement as to what is to be learnt by children under twelve years of age, we must teach them in the earlier schools all the subjects to be taught in the later schools or begin specialisation in the nursery. That is an additional argument for agreement between the education authorities as to a desirable curriculum in schools for those below the age of twelve. I should like also to emphasise the importance of a training in English. One never speaks with a Frenchman of any class in society without feeling an admiration, tempered with envy, at the command that he

shows, compared with an Englishman of the same class, of his own language. The reason, I think, is not far to seek. Till quite recently the last thing that an English child has learnt has been English, whereas the whole basis of the French child's education is his own language. How can we expect children to have the power of expression in good English, unless at an age when the memory is tenacious we familiarise them with good English? Quite apart from the linguistic training that can be given by teaching Latin, training can be given by allowing children to read and be familiar with English literature. This will help them in their classical training as well as in other things."

The Rev. Professor MAHAFFY said that the idea under which they had been brought up was that there were some very important essentials and very hard subjects which no boy would be likely to learn unless he had learnt them in his youth or at school; and that the subjects which could be acquired later were the elegancies and delights of life. He thought that if among a great quantity of subjects something should be given up, then the things to be given up should be those most likely to be studied hereafter. Attending brilliant lectures on English literature was not University Education. There was no real hard work in it, and the boy or girl who did not master what he or she did not like, was the boy or girl not worth having.

Dr. W. H. D. ROUSE thought they would run the risk of a severe fall if they took the line of defence that Latin was a good way of teaching English. As a matter of fact, it was found to be true economy to separate up the subjects of instruction; to combine them later, if necessary, would not be found a matter of great difficulty. The teaching of English laboured under the disadvantage that people regarded not what was actually done in the schools which taught it, but the preconceived notions of those who had been trained in Latin and Greek grammar as to how they would teach it themselves. Formerly it was assumed that if English were studied in school, it would be studied in such a way as to create distaste. He did not think that at all. A paper on Shakespeare need not be set like a critical paper on the text of Aeschylus. He took an entirely opposite view to Professor Mahaffy. It seemed to him that if a subject were not capable of inspiring enjoyment, it ought not to be taught to

the young. Why a thing should not be useful educationally and at the same time enjoyable, he could not see at all. He did not think they ought to expect a schoolboy just beginning Latin to appreciate the style of Livy, or Virgil, or Cicero. A necessary preliminary to the appreciation of style was to understand the meaning. They must find a way by which the beginnings of the language could be taught simply for understanding. If they could do that best by using a vocabulary entirely connected with daily life—the acts of rising, sitting, standing, the doors and windows of the room—then they should not be ashamed of using it any rate for the preliminaries. The more literary and elegant vocabulary of Xenophon or Cicero was really not more ennobling than the names for common things. It might be worth while for the Curricula Committee to consider the best way to teach the understanding and the use of Latin to beginners and to shake off all preconceived ideas on the subject.

Mr. J. K. FOTHERINGHAM said he did not think it was realised to what extent Latin was crowded out, not merely in schools that prepared pupils for business, but even in schools which carried on education to the stage where students entered the University. From the majority of the secondary schools which took the London University Schools Examination, not a single candidate offered Latin. The only interpretation that could be put upon it was that in those schools no Latin was taught up to the necessary standard of the examination. If they were to do anything to prevent overcrowded curricula, they must see that their own people were placed on the Local Education Authorities.

Miss C. J. M. HUBBACK (Head Mistress of the City and County School, Chester) reminded the last speaker that the schools in question, made possible by the Act of 1902, were not formed until two years later, and so had only some four years' work to show. As the majority of their pupils came from elementary schools at 12 or 13, the difficulty of getting them into secondary-school ways could be realised. In her own school they taught Latin from the age of 14.

Mrs. ECKHARD said she wished to repudiate with all her strength the idea that parents should deliver up their children to schools to be taught things which were absolutely useless. They wanted

their children not to learn Latin or Greek or English, but to love literature; and they were quite willing to leave it to the Classical Association whether it should be through Latin or Greek or English, so long as they got back from the schools educated boys and girls.

Professor CONWAY observed that the decrease in the study of Latin in schools in the neighbourhood of London was immediately due to the action of the University of London in having struck Latin off the list of compulsory subjects for their Matriculation, and also to what, in his own opinion, was the unsatisfactory nature of the training in Latin which was encouraged, if not demanded, by the present regulations for the examination in Latin. He held that it was essential that not merely efficiency in Unprepared Translation should be demanded, but that also a reasonable choice of Set Books should be offered if the teachers were to make the subject at that stage really profitable to their pupils. Mere linguistic drill, valuable as it was on other grounds, made the subject extremely unpopular, and rightly so, as it entirely excluded the humanising literary teaching which was involved in the reading of a great book, even of a simple kind. He did not think the time had come for asking the University to restore Latin to its position as a compulsory subject, but he pointed out that by the influence of the Classical Association, which made itself felt in better methods of teaching, the study of Latin in the schools might be very largely increased, as in fact it had been in recent years in the North of England. In the Matriculation Examination of the four Northern Universities, in which both Set Books and Unprepared Translation were required, the increase in the total number of candidates was about 30 per cent. per annum; whereas in 1906, and again in 1908, the increase in candidates taking Latin, although it was a voluntary subject, was 50 per cent. in each year.

Professor SONNENSCHNIG pointed out that in Birmingham they had set a good example by making Latin compulsory at Matriculation for candidates going in for Arts or Medicine, and the regulation had been found to work admirably; it involved no difficulties or disadvantages, so far as they had discovered. It imposed no disabilities on students of Science or Commerce; and by securing that every candidate for an Arts degree should enter

on his first year's course of study with an adequate equipment of knowledge it kept up the standard of the Arts degree.

The CHAIRMAN, in closing the discussion, said that he looked forward with great hope to good results now that the representatives of science and of literature had come into touch with one another through the newly formed Committee of the British Association.

The Resolution was then put to the meeting and carried *nem. con.*

The Rev. Professor MAHAFFY, in proposing a vote of thanks for the hospitality extended to the Classical Association, said : " I am a very young member of this Association, but I am older than any of you in enjoying the hospitalities of Birmingham. It is forty years now since I first came here to attend various meetings, congresses, and amusements, and therefore no one knows better than I do the splendid hospitality of this great city. The Resolution which I propose is, ' That the Meeting expresses its deep gratitude to the University and City of Birmingham, to the Local Organising Committee and the Hospitality Committee, to the contributors to the Guarantee Fund, and to the private hosts and hostesses for the services which have rendered this meeting so great a success. The special names I am told to mention are : the Lord Mayor, for his reception at the Council House and for the loan of the Town Hall ; the Vice-Chancellor and Council of the University of Birmingham for their reception at Bournbrook and for the use of the lecture theatres in the University Buildings ; the Council of the Midland Institute for the use of their lecture theatre for the performance of the *Hippolytus* ; Mr. Granville Bantock for the music to the *Hippolytus*, which he composed specially for this occasion ; the Hon. Secretary of the Local Organising Committee, Mr. C. A. Vince ; the President and the Hon. Secretary of the Hospitality Committee, Mrs. Chamberlain and Mrs. Sonnenschein ; the University Club for hospitality to members of the Association during the General Meeting ; Mr. Gilson for the use of a conversation and writing-room at the King Edward's school. I know from long experience what troubles and annoyances our worthy hostesses have had to endure. I know from our own attempts at Dublin how much many people put themselves out for their temporary guests. We have to get

up at unseasonable hours ; we have to bustle through breakfast in an indecent way ; we have to shift the dinner-hour from the gentlemanly hour of 8 to the uncomfortable hour of 6, and generally to break through the habits of organised society. But our hosts have behaved as if it were natural for them to be disturbed and put out ; they have entertained us with such good will and pleasure as to make us believe that we are all perfectly welcome in this great city. It is with heartfelt pleasure that I propose this Resolution."

Professor CONWAY seconded the Resolution, observing that the gathering had been in every way successful, perhaps more successful than any that had met before, as indeed he hoped might be the case every year. He thought that the thanks of the Association were especially due to Professor and Mrs. Sonnenschein, on whom must have fallen the great burden of organising the meeting. He wished to be allowed to express his gratitude to Professor Sonnenschein by a reflection which he would like to couch in the subjunctive mood, expressing a command or prophecy, but which at all events he might put into the optative—the very strong desire which all members of the Association felt that its meeting in Birmingham might do at least something to stimulate the movement for founding in the University of Birmingham a separate Chair of Greek.

The Resolution was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN.—"I have now to bring before the meeting another Resolution, which ought, I feel, to stand by itself—a vote of thanks to Professor Sonnenschein. It has already been partly anticipated by Professor Conway, but none the less you will be glad to carry it as a separate Resolution. Birmingham has long been known as the home of organisation, and Professor Sonnenschein has shown that he is as great an organiser as he is a scholar and a grammarian. Birmingham has also been known as the home of hospitality ; and through Professor Sonnenschein the organised hospitality, for which you have already thanked the citizens of Birmingham, has been arranged. He has, I know, devoted not days, but weeks and months, to thinking out and carrying out all the details which this meeting required. In the matter of hospitality he and Mrs. Sonnenschein have worked together ; and I do not know to which of them most thanks

and credit are due. Anyhow, the result has been a civic welcome for which we are indeed grateful. Birmingham may not have any special classical tradition, or obligation to the classics ; yet, ever since the foundation of the University of Birmingham, a sense of sympathy has sprung up between all the studies that are pursued within these buildings ; and to that sense of the value of learning to a great commercial community we may ascribe that wonderful hospitality which we have here received. But to Professor Sonnenschein we are indebted for something more than for his services during the last few months in organising our meeting. He has been from the first, as you know, our Hon. Secretary ; he is the only officer whose services have been continuous from our foundation ; he was one of the first organisers, and indeed one of the founders of this Association, and, in his capacity as Secretary, he has devoted more time than anybody else on our Council to forwarding the interests of the Association. I would remind you, too, that he has been for the last two years Chairman of the Curricula Committee, and that the great reforms that are being carried out at this moment in the schools of England are due in great measure to the Reports which his fruitful ideas have done so much to inspire. Without even asking for a seconder I will ask you to carry this vote of thanks by acclamation."

Carried by acclamation.

Dr. ROUSE.—"I wish to propose a vote of thanks to our Chairman, who as Chairman of our Council for several years has been unwearied in his attendance at its meetings."

Carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said : "I simply look upon myself as a convenient piece of machinery for helping the Association to get along."

Professor SONNENSCHN.—"I feel it would be improper if I did not utter one brief word of very heartfelt thanks, on behalf of Mrs. Sonnenschein and myself, for the exceedingly cordial Resolution which you have passed. I can only say that the large amount of work that the meeting has involved for us has indeed been a labour of love ; and an exceedingly interesting sort of problem it was—almost like a game of chess—how to fit

the people into their proper locations in the various meeting-places and in private residences. In the work of organising the Town Hall meeting we received most valuable expert assistance from Mr. Vince, who is a Vice-President of our local Branch ; to him the success of that meeting, as of many other meetings in the Birmingham Town Hall, is in large measure due. There is another name which is not likely to be forgotten in connexion with the General Meeting of this year ; but only a few of us know that Dr. Gilbert Murray devoted nine days of unremitting labour to superintending the rehearsals of the *Hippolytus*. I should like to add that if the Association is grateful for Birmingham hospitality, I know that many people in Birmingham are exceedingly grateful to the Association for paying them this visit. It has been the opportunity of forming and of renewing many delightful friendships. And I think Birmingham as a whole feels that the real meaning of classical studies, their human interest, and also perhaps their educational value, has been brought home to the city in a very forcible way. In regard to what the Chairman and others have said about the foundation of this Association, I think the name of Professor Postgate should be mentioned first in that connexion : he was the prime initiator of the idea. But he invited my co-operation in 1902 ; and for a time we two ran it together—the lion's share of the work in the initial stages falling to him."

The proceedings then terminated.

Note.—The chief arrangements for the Birmingham Meeting were made by a Committee consisting of The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of Birmingham, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Birmingham, Principal Sir Oliver Lodge, The Rev. Dr. Burn, Mr. R. C. Gilson, Dr. J. Rendel Harris, The Rev. Canon Hobhouse, Mrs. Hughes, Professor Sonnenschein, Mrs. Sonnenschein, Mr. C. A. Vince (*Hon. Sec.*).

The arrangements for hospitality were made by a Committee consisting of Mrs. Chamberlain (*President*), Mrs. Beale, Miss Burrows, Mrs. George Cadbury, Mrs. Charles Dixon, Mrs. Hughes, Lady Lodge, Mrs. Wilson King, Mrs. Osler, Mrs. Sonnenschein (*Hon. Sec.*).

SUBSCRIBERS TO THE GUARANTEE FUND 97

The following subscribed to the Guarantee Fund amounts varying from ten guineas to ten shillings :

The Chancellor of the University, the Right Hon. J. Chamberlain.	R. H. Ferard, Esq. Ralph Heaton, Esq. Rowland Hill, Esq.
The Vice-Chancellor of the University, C. G. Beale, Esq.	J. T. Homer, Esq. Mrs. Hughes.
Prof. Sonnenschein.	Professor Malins.
R. C. Gilson, Esq.	Ebenezer Parkes, Esq.
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The Rev. Canon Hobhouse.	The Right Hon. Jesse Collings.
The Very Rev. Father Norris.	Miss Harrold.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Birmingham.	Philip Hookham, Esq.
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Mrs. George Cadbury.	Professor Saundby.
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T. F. Walker, Esq.	J. S. Taylor, Esq.
Alderman F. C. Clayton.	Miss G. Tarleton Young.
The Rev. J. S. Dawes.	C. H. Heath, Esq.
Professor Barling.	H. A. N. Smith, Esq.
A. E. Bayliss, Esq.	Mrs. Rathbone.
A. S. Dixon, Esq.	Anonymous.

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¹ Chairman on Thursday afternoon, Friday morning, and Saturday morning.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK

THE following Report was adopted at the Annual Meeting held at Birmingham, in October, 1908, and is now published by the authority of the Association.

The Pronunciation Committee of the Classical Association, which has already reported on Latin Pronunciation, is empowered also "to consider what changes in the present pronunciation of Greek should be recommended for general adoption."

The following scheme is that presented by the Committee, and approved in principle by the Association in October, 1907, but completed and slightly modified in one or two details. On the more difficult problem of accentual pronunciation the Committee abstains at present from any recommendations, but thinks it well to submit one or two cautions and suggestions for the guidance of any teachers or students who may feel themselves in a position to make experiments with a view to some advance towards the ancient pronunciation.

The following suggestions are not put forward as constituting a complete scientific scheme, but as approximations which, for teaching purposes, may be regarded as practicable, and at the

same time as a great advance on the present usage, both for clearness in teaching and for actual likeness to the ancient sounds.

Quantity.

As in Latin, the quantities of the vowels should be strictly observed. For example, the short vowels in *πατήρ*, *τίνω*, *χορὸς*, *ῥόδωρ*, should be carefully distinguished from the long vowels in *φᾶτρία*, *κῆνῶ*, *χώρᾱ*, *ὑμεῖς*.

Vowels.

ā and ǣ, ī and ŷ, ε and ο, η and ω may be pronounced as the corresponding vowels in Latin: i.e.

ā, as a in *father*.

ǣ, as a in *aha*.

ī, as ee in *feed*.

ŷ, as i in Fr. *piquet*, nearly as Eng. i in *fit*.

ē, as e in *fret*.

ō, as o in *not*.

η (long ε) as e in Lat. *mēta*, Eng. a in *mate*.

ω (long ο) as o in Lat. *Rōma*, Eng. *home*.

The pronunciation recommended for η and ω is dictated by practical considerations. But in any school where the pupils have been accustomed to distinguish the sounds of French è and é, the Committee feels that the open sound (of è in *il mène*), which is historically correct for η, may well be adopted. In the same way there is no doubt that the pronunciation of ω in the fifth century B.C. was the open sound of oa in Eng. *broad*, not that of the ordinary English ō. But since the precise degree of openness varied at different epochs, the Committee, though preferring the open pronunciation, sees no sufficient reason for excluding the obviously convenient practice of sounding ω just as Latin ō. For both Greek and Latin the diphthongal character of the English vowels in *mate* and *home*, i.e. the slight ɪ sound in *mate* and the slight ʊ sound in *home*, *own*, is incorrect. But the discrepancy is not one which any but fairly advanced students need be asked to notice, unless indeed they happen to be

already familiar with the pure vowel sounds of modern Welsh or Italian.

v as French *û* in *du pain*.

û as French *û* in *rue* or Germ. *ü* in *grün*.

In recommending this sound for the Greek *v*, the Committee is partly guided by the fact that its correct production is now widely and successfully taught in English schools in early stages of instruction in French and German. But in any school where the sound is strange to the pupils at the stage at which Greek is begun, if it is felt that the effort to acquire the sound would involve a serious hindrance to progress, the Committee can only suggest that, for the time, the *v* should be pronounced as Latin *u* (short as *oo* in Eng. *took*, long as *oo* in Eng. *loose*), though this obscures the distinction between words like *λίω* and *λούω*.

Diphthongs.

aɪ = *a* + *i* nearly as *ai* in *Isaiah* (broadly pronounced), Fr. *émail*.

oi = *e* + *i* as Eng. *oi* in *oil*.

ui = *v* + *i* as Fr. *ui* in *lui*.

In *ε η ψ* the first vowel was long, and the second only faintly heard.

ει. The precise sound of *ει* is difficult to determine, but in Attic Greek it was never confused with *η* till a late period, and to maintain the distinction clearly it is perhaps best for English students to pronounce it as Eng. *eye*, though in fact it must have been nearer to Fr. *ée* in *passée*, Eng. *ey* in *grey*. The Greek *Ἀλφειός* is Latin *Alphæus*.

au = *au*, as Germ. *au* in *Haus*, nearly as Eng. *ow* in *gown*

eu = *eu*, nearly as Eng. *ew* in *few*, *u* in *tune*.

ou as Eng. *oo* in *moon*, Fr. *ou* in *rous*.

Consonants.

π, β, τ, δ, κ, and *γ* as *p, b, t, d, k*, and *g* respectively in Latin; except that *γ* (before *γ, κ*, and *χ*) is used to denote the nasal sound heard in Eng. *ankle, anger*.

ρ, λ, μ, ν as Lat. r, l, m, n.

σ, ς always as Lat. s (Eng. s in *mouse*), except before β, γ and μ, where the sound was as in Eng. *has been*, *has gone*, *has made*: e.g. ἄσβεστος, φάσγανον, ἐσμός.

ξ as Eng. x in *wax*, and ψ as Eng. ps in *lapse*.

ζ as Eng. dz in *adze*, ds in *treads on*.

Aspirates.

The Committee has carefully considered the pronunciation of the aspirated consonants in Greek. It is certain that the primitive pronunciation of χ, θ, φ was as k.h, t.h, p.h, that is as k, t, p followed by a strong breath, and the Committee is not prepared to deny that this pronunciation lasted down into the classical period. Further, there is no doubt that the adoption of this pronunciation makes much in Greek accidence that is otherwise obscure perfectly comprehensible. If φαίνω be pronounced π~~h~~αίνω, it is readily understood why the reduplicated perfect is πεπλήν~~h~~ηνα; but if it be pronounced f~~h~~αίνω, the perfect, pronounced πεπλή~~h~~νηνα, is anomalous. The relation of ἀφίστημι and the like to ἵστημι, of φροῦδος to ἰδός, of θρίξ to τρίχα becomes intelligible when it is seen that θ, φ, and χ contain a real h-sound. This advantage seems to be one of the reasons why it has been adopted in practice by a certain number of English teachers.

In the course of time the pronunciation of the aspirates changed by degrees to that of fricatives, which is now current in most districts of Greece, φ becoming f, θ pronounced as th in English *thin*, and χ acquiring the sound of the German *ch*.¹

If the later sounds are accepted, no change in the common pronunciation of θ and φ in England will be required, but it will remain desirable to distinguish between the sounds of κ and χ, which are at present confused: ἀκος and ἀχος, καίνω and χαίνω being now pronounced alike. This may be done by giving χ the sound of kh, or of German *ch*, as in *auch*. The Committee

¹ The dates and stages of these changes cannot as yet be settled with precision. But the practical choice seems to be between the earliest and the latest values, though there is no doubt whatever that a distinct h was heard in all these sounds long after the 4th century B.C.

would, on the whole, recommend the latter alternative as being more familiar in German, Scotch, and Irish place-names.¹

The Committee, though loth to do anything to discourage the primitive pronunciation of the aspirates, has not been able to satisfy itself that it would be easy to introduce this pronunciation into schools to which it is strange; and it is of opinion that it is not advisable to recommend anything at present that might increase the labour of the teacher or the student of Greek. It therefore abstains from recommending any change in the common pronunciation of the aspirates except in the case of χ .

Accentuation.

There is no doubt that in the Classical period of Greek the accented syllables were marked by a higher pitch or note than the unaccented, and not by more stress, not, that is, *Greek* with a stronger current of breath and more muscular *Accent.* effort. Therefore, unless the student is capable of giving a musical value to the Greek signs of accent, it is doubtful whether he should attempt to represent them in pronunciation; for in many cases we should make our pronunciation more, not less remote from that of the Greeks themselves if we gave to their accented syllables the same stress as we do to the accented syllables in English; for example, in paroxytone dactyls (*κεχηρμένους*) when the penult is stressed, the quantity of the long antepenult is apt to be shortened and its metrical value destroyed.² But where there is no conflict between accent and quantity (*ἀγαθός*), something may be said for stressing moderately the accented syllable, and so distinguishing e.g. *καλῶς* and *κάλως*, *Διός* and *δῖος*, *ταῦτά* and *ταῦτα*.³

¹ It is not easy to determine precisely the sound of $\chi\theta$ $\phi\theta$ (*χθών*, *φθίνος*) at the beginning of words, and the Committee therefore thinks it best to leave the option of (1) sounding the first consonants as κ and τ respectively, and the θ as it is in other positions (this applies both to students who adopt the fricative and to those who adopt the primitive aspirate pronunciation of the letters in other positions), or (2) where the fricative pronunciation is adopted, of sounding χ and ϕ , in this position also, respectively as Scotch *ch* and English *f*.

² This had actually happened in spoken Greek by the 2nd century A.D.

³ This paragraph is taken by permission from *The Restored Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, 4th Edition, Cambridge, 1908.

ADDENDUM

TO THE

SCHEME OF LATIN PRONUNCIATION.

The Committee, recognising that the precise sound given at different periods to the different aspirates in words borrowed into Latin from Greek (*theātrum*, *Philippus*, *chorus*) is difficult to determine, thinks that in any case it is of practical importance for teaching that the sounds should not vary from those given to *θ*, *φ*, and *χ* in Greek; and therefore on the whole recommends the fricative pronunciation, i.e.

th in *theātrum* as in Eng. *theatre*.

ph in *Philippus* as in Eng. *Philip*.

ch in *chorus* as Germ. *ch* in *noch*, or Scotch *ch* in *loch*.

But where the pronunciation of *θ φ χ* in Greek as true aspirates (*t + h*, etc., as in English *boat-house*) has been successfully adopted, the Committee does not wish to recommend that any other pronunciation should be adopted for *th ph ch* in words borrowed into Latin.

y should be pronounced as Greek *υ* (see page 102).

S. H. BUTCHER, *Chairman*.

R. S. CONWAY.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

C. A. A. DU PONTET.

R. C. GILSON.

J. P. POSTGATE.*

W. G. RUSHBROOKE.

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN.†

M. H. WOOD.

S. E. WINBOLT, *Hon. Sec.*

* With reserve as to the pronunciation of *ει*.

† With reserve as to the pronunciation of *υ*.

INTERIM REPORT OF THE CURRICULA COMMITTEE

YOUR Committee, appointed by resolution of the Council, January 18, 1908, elected Professor Sonnenschein as its Chairman and Mr. Pantin as its Secretary. Our first business was to take into consideration the question raised by Professor Postgate, at the General Meeting held at Cambridge (October 1907), whether *The Educational value of a Short Course of Latin.*

in the case of pupils whose education is not mainly classical sufficient time is given to Latin, and whether, when only a few hours a week are given, the subject has any educational value. We formulated the following questions, which were sent to all members of our Committee and to a number of other teachers, representative of very various types of schools, and not selected by us as believers in the value of Latin as an educational subject :

“(1) In a four years' course of Latin study what is the minimum number of weekly lessons necessary to enable boys or girls at the end of their school course (a) to read the easier authors with a dictionary? (b) to reach the standard of the London Matriculation examination (or any examination of about the same difficulty)?

“(2) In a four years' course of Latin study in which three or four lessons are given each week do you find that the average pupils gain such help towards the knowledge of English and other modern languages as justifies the time devoted to Latin?”

The following is a summary of the answers received.¹

¹ In this summary Latin is considered as a class subject begun at the age of about 12-13. It may be assumed that each lesson lasts about forty-five minutes, and that about thirty minutes is allotted to preparation for each lesson.

QUESTION I

A daily lesson is strongly recommended by many, including Mr. Paton (Manchester), Dr. Rouse (Cambridge), Mr. Layng (Abingdon), Mr. Lipscomb (Bolton). Canon Swallow (Chigwell), Mr. Easterbrook (Islington), Mr. Playne (Woodford), Mr. Went (Leicester), while endorsing the above strong recommendation, consider that in no case less than four and seldom less than five lessons a week are sufficient. Mr. A. E. Holme (Dewsbury), who obtained answers from twenty-three Head Masters, says: "Taking an average, the number of lessons required for I (a) is four, for I (b) is five." The Rev. A. Jamson Smith (King Edward's Grammar School, Camp Hill, Birmingham) considers that a daily lesson is necessary during the first year, and after that four lessons a week. Miss Gavin (Notting Hill) considers that at least four lessons for the first two years and five for the two following are necessary for the average girl for (a) and (b). Miss Hastings (Wimbledon) regards the minimum number of lessons to be four. Some teachers find that the power to read the easier authors with a dictionary may be attained, if the course is carefully planned, with three lessons a week in four years, but they do not think that the standard of the London Matriculation can be attained by the average pupil in that time. This view was also expressed by six out of eight teachers engaged in certain of the smaller secondary schools in London. Several teachers remark that a daily lesson is specially desirable in the first year. Another important remark, in which several concur, is to the effect that four lessons a week for three terms have more value than three lessons a week for four terms.

QUESTION II

The answers to this question show that there exists a strong and wide-spread feeling that even a short course of Latin is of great value. The following answers are selected as representative.

Mr. Williamson (Manchester Grammar School):

"My experience is that, as regards the understanding of English and English literature, even the modest knowledge of Latin suggested is an invaluable asset."

The Rev. Joseph Browne, S.J. (Rector of St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool):

"It is our experience that the Latin lessons help both directly and indirectly to the knowledge of English and other modern languages. And we further find that a boy who has had a Latin course acquires his Science much more quickly, and better, than one who has not had Latin."

Mr. C. G. Botting (St. Paul's School):

"Without a fair amount of Latin a boy seems to develop no sense of form whatever. Scientists, *e.g.* Prof. Armstrong in *School* recently, are always sneering at the schools for turning out boys who cannot express themselves: Prof. Armstrong says that much of his time is spent in doing what schools should have done for his pupils: this is of course put forward as an argument *against* Classical education. It would be interesting to know how many of these pupils learned Latin at school. Probably most did not, or were taught to look on it as a useless survival."

Mr. Holme (Dewsbury), who questioned twenty-three Head Masters:

"The answers to Question (2), with two exceptions, are strongly in the affirmative."

Canon Swallow (Chigwell), after consulting Mr. Went, Mr. Easterbrook, and Mr. Playne:

"We are unanimously of opinion that Latin should not be given up in any case by boys going through the four years' course; and that its study is a help to the formation of good English style."—"In my opinion it would be deplorable if Latin were neglected in schools of this kind, and I believe that the knowledge of Latin gained by the average boy is of great value to him in studying English as well as French" (Mr. Went).

The Rev. A. Jamson Smith (Birmingham):

"I regard Latin as far the best instrument for giving general conceptions of grammar and etymology. The *symbols* representing the phenomena make Latin preferable to English even for the purpose of teaching English grammar."

From the smaller London secondary schools the replies were to the same effect. Mr. A. F. Lowe (City of London Freeman's School) writes:

"As English Master I am decidedly of opinion that boys gain

a great deal by the study of Latin. A few boys here do not learn Latin, and I have invariably found that these boys get only a superficial knowledge of the constructions in English."

Miss Sanders (Blackheath High School; now Head Mistress of Tunbridge Wells High School):

"Our answer to Question 2 is emphatically 'yes,' even as regards a two years' course (the girl who can derive no benefit from these two years exists, but she is not the average girl, and should not learn Latin at all), for these reasons among others:

"(a) that a very short course of Latin Reading, intelligently studied, makes impossible the ignorance of the meaning of English words which so often startles one, and gives a first conception of the genealogy of words.

"(b) that the constant use of the highly developed inflexions of Latin produces a clearer grasp of the difference between the parts of speech than much English parsing. It is found that English Grammar lessons can safely be given up when Latin is begun."

Miss Sanders questioned a number of Modern Language Teachers, and found them unanimous in their opinion that even a short course of Latin is invaluable in the help it gives a girl when she begins German, and in clearing away difficulties as she advances in both German and French. It is especially when the higher work is reached that the inferiority of the girl who has not had this background of Latin appears; and this inferiority, in their opinion, never entirely disappears. French Historical Grammar, rhythm in verse, the effect of the order of words, and lastly (though this applies only to the girl who has made some advance in Latin) the development of modern literature,—all these can only be imperfectly understood by the girl who has not studied Latin.

Miss Gavin (Head Mistress of Notting Hill High School):

"My experience is that it is worth a girl's while to take a two years' course of Latin, as the gain to her other languages is very considerable. She may have previously gained clear ideas on Case, Voice, Mood, Tense, the use of Pronouns, the nature of Subordinate Sentences, but no other language gives her the same opportunity of the practice that makes these ideas so familiar that they become part of herself. For the pupil who starts with ideas that are not clear the gain is obviously greater."

Miss Rogers (St. Paul's Girls' School):

"My experience is that the study of Latin is invaluable even to children of very moderate ability, as it supplies the training in grammatical precision and exactness which it is difficult to give under the new systems of teaching modern languages. I am also of opinion that the translation of Latin prose authors into English is one of the best exercises in English composition that can be devised."

Miss Wood (St. Mary's College, Paddington, formerly of the North London Collegiate School):

"It seems to me impossible to overrate the advantage of an intelligent knowledge of even a little Latin, since without it a great deal of the English language must remain only half understood. Of its advantages in the acquisition of the Romance languages, it seems hardly necessary to say anything. . . . There seems to be no other study that can serve equally (I am still speaking of only the four years' course) to correct the looseness and vagueness of expression so deplorably prevalent in English (even non-journalistic English!). The strict and logical character of Latin syntax enforces accuracy and clearness of thought as no other language study does."

Other testimony to the same effect may be quoted.

The following is an extract from *English High Schools for Girls*, by Miss Burstall, Head Mistress of Manchester High School: "Latin has such value in grammatical training and as an aid to the study of English, that even two years of it are worth having. We have never heard a woman regret having learnt Latin, even a little Latin, in her youth. We have heard many a one regret ignorance of it. Rome lies like a great rock at the basis of the civilisation of Western Europe, and no person is completely educated who knows nothing of Latin."

At the meeting of the Modern Language Association on Jan. 7, 1908, a discussion took place on the position of German in English Schools. The following remarks, which we quote from the April number of *Modern Language Teaching*, are of special value because the Association is interested in furthering the study of the modern rather than the ancient languages.

"Miss Lowe (Head Mistress of the Girls' High School, Leeds) said that, though she was greatly in sympathy with the study

of German, she hoped the Modern Language Association would be careful what position they took up with regard to the place of Latin in schools. For one thing, there seemed to be some misconception of the aim of classical teachers of the present day. Latin and Greek are no longer the dry bones of the past, but many teachers are trying to induce boys and girls to appreciate classical works as masterpieces of literature. . . . In her own experience she had found infinitely better results in German when the children began with French, then studied Latin, and then German, than when the order was French, German, Latin.

"Miss Purdie (Exeter High School) wished to corroborate the experience of Miss Lowe with regard to taking first French and then Latin and then German. . . . She would go further and assert that including Latin in the curriculum saved an enormous amount of time. It was a preparation for German, and it saved time by abolishing English grammar; and it also saved time by preparing for an appreciation of the great masters of English literature. She could not be too grateful to the Board of Education for opposing the tendency to give up Latin."

In view of these and many similar opinions which we have received, it seems clear that even a short course of Latin is found valuable by teachers in schools of various types. Speaking generally, it may be said that classical study is more in favour than it was, say ten years ago. But we feel that if the study is to thrive there is need of improvement in the methods of teaching, especially of the elements. As to what kind of improvement is desirable we have already expressed our opinion in our last report (1907).

We desire to welcome the recently issued report of the Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, appointed to advise as to the curricula of *Report of a Committee of Secondary Schools* (in the first instance the curricula of boys' schools).¹ The outstanding feature of the *British Association* that report is the recognition which it gives to literary as well as to scientific studies, and the provision which it makes for the former in the school curriculum. We are

¹ This Committee was appointed at the York meeting in 1906, and it reported at the Leicester meeting in 1907.

prepared to accept the recommendation that out of a total of twenty-six school hours per week thirteen hours should be allotted to literary subjects prior to the age when Latin is begun; and we consider that after Latin has been begun sixteen hours per week is sufficient until the point is reached when a third foreign language, ancient or modern, is introduced. As to the age at which Latin should be begun, and the allied question whether a modern language should be begun before Latin, there are differences between the report of the Committee of the British Association and the report of the Curricula Committee presented to the last general meeting of the Classical Association (October 1907). We expressed the opinion that when a modern language is the first foreign language learnt the study of Latin should not be postponed beyond the age of eleven; the Committee of the British Association holds that it would be a wise educational experiment to postpone the *systematic* teaching of Latin as an ordinary school subject till twelve years of age, and that such a change will prove sufficiently successful to warrant its adoption. Possibly these differences might be adjusted; for we are at one with the Committee of the British Association in recognising that there is a need of secondary schools of different types and with different curricula or combinations of curricula. That the principle of teaching a modern language before Latin carries with it some important advantages we have already recognised, though we were unable to recommend it as of universal application, being of opinion that a great deal depends upon the method of teaching Latin which is adopted and upon the opportunities offered by the home. Our experience is that a bright boy of ten years of age from a cultivated home may quite well begin Latin without any loss to his general development; and there is a serious danger that if the study is postponed till the age of 12 the pressure during the years 12-15 may become too great. At the same time we recognise that postponement till the age of 12 is a practical necessity in the case of a certain type of school. In any case, the opinions quoted in the earlier part of our report show how widespread is the conviction that Latin is an admirable educational instrument, and should as a general rule be retained as an integral part of the curriculum of secondary schools. "It is not without reason that we turn early to Latin for the gram-

matical training which neither our own language nor French can supply." ¹

We join heartily with the Committee of the British Association in deprecating overcrowding of the curriculum, as well as all specialisation of studies before the age of eleven or twelve.

Such differences as exist between the programme of the Committee of the British Association and the objects of the Classical Association seem on the whole to be differences of detail rather than of principle. The Classical Association has never advocated the claims of Classics in a narrow or exclusive spirit. We are therefore encouraged to hope that by dispassionate criticism and reasonable co-operation the rival claims of Classics and the Natural Sciences as subjects of school education may be reconciled.

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN (*Chairman*).

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H. M. BURGE.

W. C. COMPTON.

A. A. DAVID.

ETHEL GAVIN.

A. F. HORT.

E. D. MANSFIELD.

T. E. PAGE.

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M. DE G. VERRALL.

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W. E. P. PANTIN (*Secretary*).

¹ Report on the Teaching of Classics in Prussian Secondary Schools (to form part of vol. xx. of Special Reports on Educational Subjects), by Mr. Frank Fletcher, Master of Marlborough College, p. 11.

JANUARY 1st TO DECEMBER 31st, 1908.

<i>Expenditure.</i>								£	s.	d.
Printing ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	43	10	5
Postage ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	17	2
Year-book ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
Clerical assistance ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	31	13	8
Reporting (Meeting, 1907) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	13	0
<i>Proceedings</i> , vol. iv. (October 1906) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	45	16	3
Travelling expenses (members of Council and Committee)								32	11	9
Vol. ii., <i>The Year's Work</i> (to June 30, 1908), less profits										
(£1 10s. 2d. on "Pronunciation of Latin") ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	84	11	6
<i>Proceedings</i> sent to South Africa ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	4	6
General expenses of meeting at Birmingham (less expenses										
paid for by guarantors) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	33	10	9
Returns of members' overpayments ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	3
Bank charges ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	6
To Manchester C.A. (grant of entrances) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	0
„ Birmingham C.A. „ „ ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	15	0
„ Liverpool C.A. „ „ ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	15	0
								328	19	3
Bank balance, December 17, 1908 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	230	7	2

£559 6 5

(Signed) C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS,
Hon. Treasurer.

IN ACCOUNT WITH MR. MURRAY FOR "YEAR'S WORK" AND "PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN"

<i>Debit.</i>		£	s.	d.	<i>Credit.</i>		£	s.	d.
To subscriptions of members (483) to June 30, 1908	... ..	42	5	3	Two-thirds profits of sales	...	10	8	4
Contributions from the Association to Mr. Murray's expenses, 483 at 9d.	... ..	18	2	3	Profits of sales, "Pronunciation of Latin"	...	1	10	2
Paid to contributors of articles (excluding the Editor)	... ..	34	0	0	Received from 483 members	...	42	5	3
Reprints of articles	... ..	2	2	6	Deficiency, being loss to the Association	...	54	3	9
							42	6	3

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

Extract from a letter of the late Prof. T. D. Seymour, Yale University, to Prof. Postgate (1907).

"As for Greek pronunciation in America. The very first paper presented at the very first meeting of the American Philological Association, in 1869, was on 'The Best Method of pronouncing the Latin and Greek Languages.' (See *Transactions of Am. Phil. Assoc.*) Up to that time the old 'American' pronunciation of Greek had prevailed—neglecting the written accent, pronouncing *a* in general as *a* in *make*, *τήν* as *teen*, etc. But gradually, under German influence, the 'Continental' sounds of the vowels were coming in; and, on the other hand, two or three prominent scholars, who had spent a year or so in Greece, were using the Modern Greek pronunciation.

"Between 1869 and 1875 the matter was discussed at great length in educational periodicals. Then *almost* all teachers agreed to adopt a pronunciation based on Blass's work, giving the vowels and diphthongs with a rude approximation to what we suppose the original sounds to have been. None but the old men kept to the old-fashioned pronunciation. A few of the students of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, on their return, have been disposed to use the Modern Greek pronunciation—but this disposition has not been so marked of late years as it was twenty years ago. Most American scholars understand each other's Greek now, without trouble of mind. The chief divergencies of late have been :

"(1) Some have paid more attention to quantity and others to the written accent ;

"(2) While most have pronounced ζ as English *z*, some have given it as *dz*, and a very few as *zd* ;

"(3) α used to be pronounced as *i* in *wiss* ; then an effort was made to reproduce both parts of the diphthong ; and now the

ordinary pronunciation entirely confuses ϵ and η —which seems to me to be extremely bad, paedagogically. (Only one or two scholars so distinguish ϵ and η that I can observe it when they quote a sentence); and

“(4) Some insist on a pronunciation of ϵ which really makes two syllables of it, though the more careful of them make this a diphthong with the emphasis on the first element.

“So we have a very fair approximation to uniformity. In our class-rooms the uncertainty as to ϵ is the only variation which is very disagreeable. We have not entire uniformity with regard to χ —some giving it as the German *ch* and others as *k*—but that is not so disturbing. The other variations are due chiefly to ignorance or carelessness, or to some American local pronunciations. *E.g.*, in some parts of our country a short *o* sound is almost non-existent, and there, naturally enough, $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ is pronounced either as $\tau\acute{a}\nu$ or as $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$. I regret to say that the attempt to persuade boys and teachers to mark *both* quantity and accent in their reading of Greek has not been very successful. When his attention is called to it, a teacher may say $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\mu$, but in general he says either $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\mu$ or $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu$.

“We are not ‘happy’ about our pronunciation of Greek. I am not inclined to urge any change at present, however, in view of the chaos which we were in thirty years ago, and in particular because of the limited time which our boys have in the class-room. Our teacher must use good judgment. He cannot give very much time to details of pronunciation without neglecting ‘weightier matters of the law.’ Of course we urge the elementary teachers to be careful and precise—but they feel as if the colleges expect the schools to do rather more than the schools can do.”

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RULES

*Adopted at the first General Meeting of the Association, May 28th, 1904;
Amended at the General Meetings of January 5th, 1906, and October
10th, 1908.*

1. The name of the Association shall be "THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION."

2. The objects of the Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and, in particular:—

- (a) To impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education;
- (b) To improve the practice of classical teaching by free discussion of its scope and methods;
- (c) To encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries;
- (d) To create opportunities for friendly intercourse and co-operation among all lovers of classical learning in this country.

3. The Association shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, a Council of fifteen members besides the Officers, and ordinary Members. The officers of the Association shall be members thereof, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

4. The Council shall be entrusted with the general administration of the affairs of the Association, and, subject to any special direction of a General Meeting, shall have control of the funds of the Association.

5. The Council shall meet as often as it may deem necessary, upon due notice issued by the Secretaries to each member, and at every meeting of the Council five shall form a quorum.

6. It shall be within the competence of the Council to make rules for its own procedure, provided always that questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes, the Chairman to have a casting vote.

20. The Classical Association shall have power to enter into relations with other bodies within the limits of the British Empire having like objects with its own, upon their application to the Council and by vote of the same. The Council shall in each case determine the contribution payable by any such body and the privileges to be enjoyed by its members. The President of any body so associated shall during his term of office be a Vice-President of the Classical Association. But the members of the associated body shall not be deemed to be members of the Classical Association, nor shall they have any of the rights or privileges of members beyond such as they shall enjoy through the operation of this rule.

The provisions of Rules 8, 10, 12, and 16 shall not apply to the Vice-Presidents created under this rule. If the President of any body so associated is unable to attend the meetings of Council, the Council shall have power to invite that body to nominate a representative to serve for a limited period (not exceeding one year) as an additional member of Council beyond the number 15 mentioned in Rule 3.

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- WILLIAMS, *Miss* S. J., B.A., Merton Hall, South Yarra, Victoria, Australia.

WROTH, W., British Museum, W.C.

WYNNE-EDWARDS, *Rev.* J. R., M.A., Grammar School, Leeds.

WYSE, W., M.A., Halford, Shipston-on-Stour.

YATE, *Lieut-Col.* A. C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal.

YEATER, *Miss* L. J., State Normal School, Second District,
Warrensburg, Miss., U.S.A.

YOUNG, F. S., M.A., The College, Bishop's Stortford, Herts.

YOUNG, *Miss* M. S., Aske's School for Girls, Hatcham, S.E.

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YOUNG, R. T., M.A., The College, Brighton.

YULE, *Miss* A. F., F.S.A.S., Tarradale, Ross-shire.

ZIMMERN, A. E., B.A., New College, Oxford.

ZIMMERN, *Miss* D. M., Oakhill Drive, Surbiton.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE—continued

Cambridge—continued

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Clare College . Atkinson, Rev. E.
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Corpus Christi College . . . Moule, C. W.
Streane, Rev. A. W.

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Giles, P.

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Jesus College . Abbott, E.

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Nixon, J. E.
Sheppard, J. T.
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Waldstein, Prof. C.
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Mayor, Rev. Prof. J.

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Sandys, J. E.
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Stewart, Rev. H. F.

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 . . . Boyd.
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 . . . Boyd.
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 . . . Hughes, C.
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 . . . Limebeer, Miss D.
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 . . . Currie.
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 . . . Montague, C. E.
 . . . Montague, Mrs.
 . . . Moulton, Rev. J. H.
 . . . Norwood, G.
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 . . . Peake, Prof. A. S.
 . . . Roby, A. G. and Mrs.
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 . . . Wood, Carl.
 . . . Wood, H.
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 . . . Tyler, C. H.
Salford . . . Campion, Rev. C. T.
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 . . . Walker, Miss.
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 . . . Wickham, Dean.
Louth . . . Worrall, A. H.
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 Bell, Rev. Canon G. C.
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 Benson, Godfrey R.
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 Blundell, Miss A.
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 Sir J. W.
 Bradley, Prof. A. C.
 Bridge, Admiral Sir C.
 Bruce, Hon. W. N.
 Bruce-Forrest, E.
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 Burton, Miss A. L.
 Butcher, J. G.
 Butcher, S. H.
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 Campbell, Miss E. J.
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 Chapman, John.
 Charles, Miss D. M.
 Cohen, H.
 Cohen, Miss H. F.
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 Collins, Rt. Hon. Sir
 R. H.
 Colvin, S.
 Craik, Sir H.
 Cromer, Rt. Hon. Earl
 of
 Crofts, T. B. N.
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 Dill, R. T. Colquhoun.
 Dingwall, W. F.
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 Judge W.
 Esdaille, A. J. K.
 Eve, H. W.
 Farwell, Lord Justice.
 Finlay, Sir R. B.
 Furness, Miss S. M. M.
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 Gaselee, Miss E. S.
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 Hutton, Miss E. P. S.
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 W. R.
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India—continued

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The first meeting for 1908 was held at the University of Manchester on January 24th, when Professor Boyd Dawkins, D.Sc., F.R.S., lectured on "The Influence of the Ægean People in Greece and Italy."

On January 31st the annual Social and Business Meeting took place in the Manchester Grammar School. It opened with a lecture by Professor G. G. A. Murray on "Some Questions about Ancient Greek Acting."

On February 28th, Professor Hope Hogg, B.Litt., lectured on "Some Suggested Cases of Oriental Influence in Greece and Rome."

On Saturday, May 9th, an excursion was made to the village of Ribchester, where excavations have been proceeding under the auspices of the Branch (see below).

A fresh period of activity began in November. On November

6th a Social Meeting was held in the Whitworth Institute, Manchester. Mr. J. H. Hopkinson lectured on Greek Vases. The Branch again met in the University on November 27th. Professor R. M. Burrows lectured on "Recent Excavations at Mycalessus."

In addition, the Branch has continued to support the excavation work on the site of the Roman fort at Ribchester. Mr. G. Cheesman, B.A., and Mr. Thomas May, F.S.A. (Scot.), conducted the excavations on behalf of the Branch, and succeeded in discovering:

(1) The position of the north wall, its gate, and two gate towers; (2) the granary, and a later building of a similar nature; (3) what is most important—an inscription containing parts of the names of the Emperor Severus and his two sons, which must have been set up some time between 198 and 211 A.D., and from which the name of Geta was erased after his murder in 212. See Professor Conway's article in the *Classical Review* for September 1908.

The Branch will shortly publish a full Report of these excavations and their results, edited by Mr. J. H. Hopkinson. The Report for 1907 ("Melandra, Toot Hill, and Mancunium") is nearly ready. It will contain the account of (1) the discovery of a Roman altar at Melandra since the 1906 Report was issued; (2) the enquiry into a supposed Roman site at Toot Hill, which was found to contain no Roman remains whatever; (3) the extensive remains of a Roman camp, dating probably from the first century A.D., uncovered in Duke Place in 1907. It will contain also articles on all the Roman Inscriptions and Coins known to have been found in Manchester at any period, and one by Canon E. L. Hicks on the monuments of Mithras-worship in the District. The volume is edited by Mr. F. A. Bruton, M.A., of the Manchester Grammar School, the first Secretary of the Excavation Committee of the Branch.

The ordinary Members number 93; the associate Members 102; the funds raised for and spent on the excavation in 1908 were £75 14s. 6d.; those for excavating Mancunium in 1907 amounted to £450.

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The chief work of the Branch during the year has consisted of the organisation of a series of lectures upon classical subjects. The list of lecturers has included Dr. Grundy (" The Battlefields of the Persian Wars "), Dr. Grenfell (" Recent Finds of Papyri in Egypt "), Canon Hobhouse (" The Worship of the Roman Emperors "), Mr. Arthur Sidgwick (" Homer "), Miss Janet Case (" The Religious Idea in Aeschylus "), and Miss Spinney, who gave a recitation of Professor Gilbert Murray's translation of Euripides' " Trojan Women." Further lectures by Mr. A. T. Martin (" The Excavation of the Roman City of Caerwent ") and Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson have been arranged for February and March of the coming year.

The Reading Circle instituted last year has been holding meetings every fortnight, and has read selections from the *Epistulae Morales* of Seneca ; it is now engaged on the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix.

The most notable event of our year has been the visit of the Central Association to Birmingham in October. A committee was appointed by the Branch to make the local arrangements,

As a result of subsequent discussion and correspondence, it was resolved to constitute the Liverpool Association a Branch of the Classical Association of England and Wales.

The first Annual Meeting was held on February 25th, 1908, when a discussion was held on "The Place of Classical Studies in a Modern City."

On March 12th, 1908, Professor Myres exhibited and explained the collection which has been formed at the Institute of Archæology with the object of assisting and illustrating Classical Studies.

On March 23rd Professor Strong delivered a lecture on "The Poetry of Catullus."

On May 22nd a lecture was delivered by Professor H. C. Wyld on "Phonetics, with special reference to Tone, Stress and Pitch."

On Saturday, June 13th, the Society visited Chester to examine the Roman Antiquities under the direction of Dr. Robert Newstead.

At the end of the summer term the Branch, to its great regret, lost the services of Mr. MacGregor as Secretary, on his appointment to a post at Bedford College, London. His place was subsequently taken by Mr. A. Y. Campbell, Lecturer in Classics at Liverpool University.



